

STABILITY OPERATIONS IN SOMALIA 1992-1993: A CASE STUDY

Glenn M. Harned

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Foreword

This stability operations case study project emerged from a Joint Requirements Oversight Council task to examine how Joint Professional Military Education (JPME) institutions teach operational planning for steady-state peacekeeping and stability operations. The Joint Staff J-7 requested the U.S. Army Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Institute (PKSOI), as the Joint Proponent for Peace and Stability Operations, accomplish a number of tasks to improve JPME curricula. As part of this effort, PKSOI is developing a series of professionally focused, historical case studies of successful joint peacekeeping and stability operations. The purpose of these case studies is to provide balanced analyses of the strategic conditions and guidance underlying each selected operation, and describe how military leaders successfully interpreted and implemented this guidance during the conduct of joint operations. The case studies provide current and future military leaders with insights into the principles and challenges of stability operations, and describe practical approaches for designing, planning, and conducting joint operations in a complex environment, particularly in situations when the Department of Defense does not lead the U.S. government effort. Each case study focuses on answering the question: Did the joint force commander and staff effectively design, plan, and establish the mission in a way that provided for initial operational success, while establishing the basis for long-term operational and strategic success?

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Colonel Glenn Harned is a retired Army Infantry and Special Forces officer who now works as an independent defense consultant in the fields of irregular warfare and special operations. His last assignment was Acting Director of Special Operations Policy in the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Special Operations and Low-Intensity Conflict. Other assignments included Commander of the joint Special Operations Command Korea; Director of Training, Doctrine, and Concept Development, U.S. Army John F. Kennedy Special Warfare Center and School (SWCS).

He is a former Principal (Senior Executive), Program Manager, and Senior Defense Analyst in charge of developing, managing, and leading Booz Allen Hamilton's Northern Virginia-based SOF and irregular warfare business. His team developed the Multi-Service Concept for Irregular Warfare, USSOCOM Capstone Concept for Special Operations, the first two versions of the Department of Defense (DoD) Irregular Warfare Joint Operating Concept, and the DoD Joint Integrating Concepts for Unconventional Warfare, and Defeating Terrorist Networks. He was primary author of the 2006 DoD Irregular Warfare Implementation Roadmap, and served as a permanent member of the Joint Staff J-7 Defense Adaptive Red Team. He contributed to the development of three U.S. Joint Forces Command Activity Concepts for Engagement, Security, and Relief and Reconstruction.

He is a graduate of the Army Command and General Staff College, Army School of Advanced Military Studies, Armed Forces Staff College, and Marine Corps War College. He has a B.S. in Economics from

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Introduction

Operation RESTORE HOPE, a U.S.-led peace enforcement operation conducted in Somalia under United Nations (U.N.) auspices from December 1992 to May 1993, offers many lessons that are applicable to a range of possible challenges in the future. Unlike peacekeeping operations, which rely on the consent and good will of the parties to a dispute, peace enforcement operations involve the show or use of military force in an armed conflict to separate combatants and create, maintain, or reinstate a cease-fire. The Joint Force conducts these operations with limited or no consent by the warring parties. Peace enforcement operations are inherently joint, interagency, intergovernmental, and multinational in nature. They require close cooperation with nongovernmental organizations and the civil society of the host nation. Peace enforcement is complex and one of the most difficult and challenging missions. It warrants heightened study by national security professionals.

The 1992-1993 Unified Task Force (UNITAF) operation in Somalia, which was the centerpiece of RESTORE HOPE, was unprecedented. It was the first time the U.N. Security Council elected to intervene in the internal affairs of a country without a request from its central government; Somalia had no central government during this period. This intervention was the first U.N. peace enforcement operation since the United Nations Operation in the Congo from 1960 to 1964, and it was much larger, with 37,000 troops on the ground. The United States, not the U.N., planned, organized, and conducted the UNITAF operation under a U.N. mandate. The approach taken by the UNITAF military and diplomatic leaders in Somalia provides

an excellent example of how a coalition of willing and able nations, led by a great power with well-trained and well-equipped combat-capable forces, can restore stability in a failed state devastated by civil war. UNITAF established the political and military conditions necessary for the U.N. to begin the process of national reconciliation and the negotiation of a political settlement of differences among warring factions. As this case study will explain, the subsequent United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM) II changed the course of events in Somalia and failed in its mission to promote national reconciliation and a political settlement, but not because of anything UNITAF did or failed to do. The UNOSOM II failure should not detract from the importance of learning about how the earlier UNITAF effort accomplished its mission.

There are eight sections in this monograph. “Background and Strategic Conditions” sets the stage for the operation. “Operational Environment” describes the conditions in Somalia, introduces the Somali political factions that UNITAF had to deal with, and explains the political implications of Operation RESTORE HOPE. “Strategic Guidance” describes the events that led to the U.S. decision to intervene and the U.N. choice to expand UNOSOM. This section outlines the strategic guidance and direction provided to JTF Somalia (later UNITAF). “Planning and Preparation” outlines how JTF Somalia developed its task organization and four-phased operation plan. “Deployment and Intervention” describes how the operation actually unfolded on the ground in Somalia and explains why UNITAF successfully accomplished its mission months ahead of schedule. “Aftermath” describes what happened in Somalia after the termination of the operation and explains why UNSOM II failed and

Somalia returned to a state of anarchy. “Assessment and Insights” examines Operation RESTORE HOPE in terms of the twelve principles of joint operations and offers insights into peace enforcement operations. The “Conclusion” includes a list of best practices for peace enforcement operations, which derive from this case study. At the end of the monograph are 17 appendices filled with relevant original documents and other supplemental materials to aid in a more detailed study of the operation.

This monograph draws on three principal sources. The Joint Staff history of the operation, *The Effort to Save Somalia August 1992-March 1994* by Walter S. Poole, provides an excellent description of national-level interagency coordination and the interactions between the U.S. government and the U.N. staff. The Marine Corps history of the operation, *Restoring Hope: In Somalia with the Unified Task Force, 1992-1993* by Marine Corps historian and UNITAF participant Colonel Dennis P. Wroczjowski, provides the operational and tactical details of the operation in Somalia. The “Historical Background” article on the U.N. UNOSOM website provides the U.N. perspective on the U.S.-led operation and exposes the policy differences that led to the ultimate failure of the follow-on operation, UNOSOM II.

The study of Operation RESTORE HOPE is important to the education of future U.S. military and civilian national security leaders because it highlights the challenges associated with complex contingency operations, the requirement for unity of effort to achieve a common purpose, and the vital role of key leaders in translating strategic guidance into tactical actions to achieve favorable political outcomes.

Glenn M. Harned
Colonel, U.S. Army (Retired)

Background and Strategic Conditions for the Operation

I and Somalia against the world.
I and my clan against Somalia.
I and my family against the clan.
I and my brother against the family.
I against my brother – Somali Proverb¹

In the summer of 1992, Somalia seemed an unlikely place for a U.S. military intervention. Considered strategically unimportant since the end of the Cold War, it was one of the poorest countries on earth. In today's terms, Somalia was a failed state wracked by civil war. Then, in a preview of today's information environment, images of starving people in a devastated land on the remote Horn of Africa inundated the American people. The pre-Internet media—television newscasts, print articles, and radio programs—generated pressure on the United States and the international community to "do



Map 1 Somalia Map
(Source: U.S. Forces Somalia After Action Report, p.4)

something” to resolve the human tragedy in Somalia.

Geography

Somalia is a large country of 246,200 square miles (slightly smaller than Texas) (see Map 1). It is strategically located on the Horn of Africa along the southern approaches to the Bab el Mandeb strait connecting the Gulf of Aden to the Red Sea and Suez Canal. Somalia borders Djibouti, Ethiopia, and Kenya to the west; the Gulf of Aden to the north; and the Indian Ocean to the east and south. The country is principally desert, with southern and central Somalia receiving significantly more rainfall than the drier north. Somalia has a dry season from January to March, the monsoon season is from April to June, and two hot and humid seasons of short and irregular rainfall from July to December. Less than two percent of the land is arable; most of the land is permanent pasture suitable for the nomadic herding of livestock. The terrain is mostly flat to undulating plateau, rising to hills in the north. Its natural resources include uranium and largely unexploited deposits of iron ore, tin, gypsum, bauxite, copper, salt, natural gas, and likely oil.

Economy

The U.N. classifies Somalia as a “least developed country.”² Most of the Somali people are nomadic or semi-nomadic herders of livestock (goats, sheep, camels, and cattle). Many others engage in subsistence farming or fishing. The processing of agricultural products for the domestic market is the basis of the modest industrial sector.

Civil Society

In 1992, Somalia had an estimated population of 8.3 million.³ The family and the clan are the foundations of Somali society, which is divided into five clan-families and subdivided into clans, sub-clans, and families.⁴ All ethnic Somalis trace their lineages to Abu Taalib, an uncle of the Prophet Mohammed. They can recite their lineage back for several generations, allowing individual Somalis to understand their obligations and responsibilities to other Somalis (see the Somali proverb above). Somalia's clan-based society tends to unify against an external threat. Absent such a threat, the Somali clans are fiercely antagonistic toward one another as they compete for scarce water and arable land to support their local clan-based economies and preserve their traditional lifestyle.

European Colonization

An independent and unified Somali country did not exist until 1960. Local sultans governed the various clans without a central government until the Suez Canal opened in 1869. The European empires then recognized the new geostrategic importance of the Bab el Mandeb strait and the Horn of Africa. In northwest Somalia, at the southern tip of the strait, France imposed various treaties with local sultans between 1883 and 1887 before establishing the colony of French Somaliland in 1894. In 1888, Great Britain established a protectorate over British Somaliland in northern Somalia on the Gulf of Aden. In 1889, Italy established Italian Somaliland as a similar protectorate in central and southern Somalia along the Indian Ocean. The self-proclaimed Dervish State opposed the coloniza-

tion of Somalia, fighting an insurgency against the Ethiopian, British, and Italian Empires from 1899 to 1920 that purged the Somali interior of European influence.

Trust Territory and Independence

During World War II, the British defeated the Italian forces in Somalia and seized control of Italian Somaliland in 1941. After the 1947 peace treaty with Italy, the British continued to administer the occupied territory.⁵ In 1949, the U.N. awarded Italy trusteeship over the former Italian Somaliland, with the stipulation that the new Trust Territory of Somaliland must be independent by the end of 1960. In 1956, the British agreed to the independence of British Somaliland and its union with the Trust Territory. The British granted independence to British Somaliland on June 26, 1960. On July 1, it joined with the Trust Territory to establish the Somali Republic.

Great Britain and Italy did not adequately prepare their Somali territories for independence. The major issues facing the new country were deplorable social conditions and inadequate physical infrastructure. However, many Somali political leaders became distracted by the idea of Pan-Somalism. They called for unification with the Somali people living in the bordering countries of Kenya, Ethiopia, and Djibouti, placing Somalia in confrontation with its neighbors.

Somali Democratic Republic

During the first decade of Somali independence, the ruling Somali Youth League Party became corrupt; personal gain, nepotism, and clan allegiances took pri-

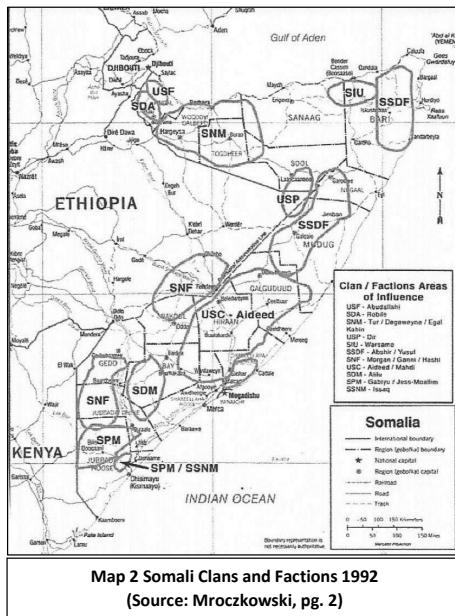
ority over public service to the new country. On October 15, 1969, President Abdirashid Ali Shermarke was assassinated, apparently over a clan grievance. On October 21, when Prime Minister Ibrahim Egal tried to arrange the selection of a new president, Major General Mohammed Siad Barre seized power in a bloodless coup and assumed leadership of the new Supreme Revolutionary Council. General Barre arrested members of the old government, outlawed political parties, abolished the National Assembly, and suspended the constitution.⁶ Educated in the Soviet Union, he renamed the country as the Somali Democratic Republic and embarked on a socialist program to end government corruption and clan allegiances, raise literacy, and improve the fragile economy. He accepted Soviet military and economic assistance in exchange for basing rights at Berbera on the Gulf of Aden. He also continued to pursue Pan-Somalism, especially regarding the Ogaden region controlled by Ethiopia, which led to Somalia's unsuccessful invasion of the disputed territory from July 13, 1977 to March 15, 1978. The Soviet Union supported the Marxist regime in Ethiopia and severed its relationship with Somalia. In retaliation, General Barre expelled the Soviets and reached an agreement with the United States similar to the one he had with the Soviet Union.

Somali Rebellion

Despite General Barre's programs to eliminate the political influence of the clans, or perhaps because of these efforts, Somalis increasingly identified Barre's government with his own Marehan sub-clan of the Darod clan-family. Pervasive public corruption added to the dissatisfaction of many Somalis with Barre's government. When Barre was injured in an automobile

accident on May 23, 1986, rivals within his own government and insurgent groups in northern Somalia entered into open rebellion. There were four main clan-based opposition groups (see Map 2 and text box):

1. The United Somali Congress (USC), a Hawiye clan-family faction in central Somalia, became the largest and most successful opposition group. By December 1990, USC forces pushed the Somali National Army back to the outskirts of the Somali capital, Mogadishu.
2. The Somali National Movement (SNM), an Isaaq clan-family organization based in north-western Somalia, launched a military campaign in May 1988. In response, the predominantly Marehan-based SNM conducted savage reprisals against the Isaaq, destroying water wells, killing livestock, and forcing 300,000 Isaaqis to flee to Ethiopia.
3. The Somali Patriotic Movement (SPM), a Darod family-clan faction, opposed the Barre government in the south around Kismayo.
4. The Somali National Front (SNF), another Darod family-clan faction, supported the Barre



government and sought to restore it to power in southern and central Somalia.

Somalia Clan and Faction Affiliations

Clan and sub-clan loyalties defined the power struggle among the various political factions after the overthrow of Dictator Siad Barre. Virtually all factions derived their influence from their affiliation with one of the clans or clan-families. The United Somali Congress (USC), Somali National Front (SNF), and Somali Patriotic Movement (SPM) had the greatest impact on Operation RESTORE HOPE:

Composed principally of Hawiye clan-family members, the USC was the largest of the factions operating in central and southern Somalia. It was one of the first to fight against the Barre regime. After capturing Mogadishu in January 1991, the USC fractured into two factions. General Mohamed Farah Hassan Aidid led one faction called USC Aidid. Its members belonged to the Habr Gedr clan led by Aidid. The second faction, USC Mahdi, under Ali Mahdi Mohamed, drew its support from the Abgal clan and battled the USC Aidid faction. Both were strong in the Mogadishu area, and each had supporters in other factions in the Kismayo area.

General Mohamed Said Hirsi ("General Morgan"), Minister of Defense in the Barre regime, established the SNF in March 1991 to restore Barre to power. The SNF was composed of Barre supporters, principally from the Marehan clan of the Darod clan-family, and the remnants of the Somali National Army. It was active in southwestern Somalia along the Kenya border and in the Kismayo area, extending its reach as far north as Bardera and Baidoa. Morgan was allied with USC Mahdi against USC Aidid.

The SPM was active mainly in the south around Kismayo. Its members belonged to the Ogadeni clan of the Darod clan-family. The SPM also fractured into two rival factions. Colonel Ahmed Omar Jess led the faction allied with General

Aidid, and Colonel Aden Gabiyu led the faction aligned with the SNF.

Several other armed factions also operated in Somalia at this time. These factions had less impact on Operation RESTORE HOPE than the USC, SNF, and SPM.

Dominated by the Issaq clan-family, the Somali National Movement (SNM) operated in northwest Somalia. Under the leadership of Abdulrahman Ali Tur, this faction declared the independence of former British Somaliland and established the Somaliland Republic.

The Somali Salvation Democratic Front (SSDF) also operated in the north. It was the political and military arm of the Majertain clan of the Darod clan-family, which opposed the USC.

The Somali Democratic Movement (SDM), affiliated with the Rahanweyne clan-family, operated to the west of Mogadishu. Centered on the town of Bardera, the SDM was also strong in Baidoa.

The Southern Somali National Movement (SSNM) had its center in the town of Kismayo. The SSNM was the political and military arm of the Biyemal clan of the Dir clan-family.

There also were several religious-based factions, particularly in the north. These groups included Islamic Unity, which opposed the SSDF in the north, and the Muslim Brotherhood, which operated throughout the country.

Derived from Colonel Dennis P. Mroczkowski, *Restoring Hope; In Somalia with the Unified Task Force, 1992-1993*, pg. 3.

Operation EASTERN EXIT

On December 5, 1990, faced with escalating violence and chaos in Mogadishu, U.S. Ambassador James K. Bishop ordered the departure of non-essential personnel and dependents from Somalia. By January 1, the situation was too dangerous for the remaining personnel to stay at the U.S. Embassy compound, and Ambassador Bishop requested permission to evacuate. Vice Admiral Stanley R. Arthur, commanding U.S. Naval Forces, U.S. Central Command (USCENTCOM), had already alerted his staff to prepare for a non-combatant evacuation operation (NEO) in Mogadishu. Although heavily committed to Operation DESERT SHIELD in Saudi Arabia and the final preparations for Operation DESERT STORM to liberate Kuwait, USCENTCOM began NEO planning. By the time the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (CJCS), General Colin Powell, U.S. Army, issued the execute order on January 2, Admiral Arthur was already assembling an amphibious task force composed of the helicopter assault ship USS *Guam* and amphibious transport dock USS *Trenton*. At 0345 hours on January 5, the 60-man evacuation force lifted off from *Guam*, flew to the embassy compound, and loaded the initial group of evacuees into its two CH-53 helicopters. The evacuation force secured the embassy compound until the evacuation was complete that evening.⁷

Civil War and Anarchy

With the successful completion of the NEO, the U.S. presence in Somalia ended for almost two years. The civil war continued in Somalia, while most of the world focused on Operation DESERT STORM and its aftermath in Southwest Asia. On January 27, 1991, the

USC forced General Barre to flee from Mogadishu to southern Somalia. However, the USC failed to reach a political settlement with the other principal anti-Barre factions, the SNM, SPM, and SSDF. On May 18, 1991, the SNM-controlled northwestern region seceded from Somalia and declared itself the independent Republic of Somaliland, the successor state to the former British Somaliland.⁸ An international conference on Somali national reconciliation convened in Djibouti on June 5-11, 1991. The conference participants selected Somali entrepreneur and USC politician Ali Mahdi Mohamed to serve as Interim President. General Mohamed Farrah Aidid, Chairman of the USC and military leader of its powerful militia, boycotted the Djibouti conference and rejected Mahdi's authority.⁹ The other factions did not rally behind Mahdi's presidency because the USC was an instrument of the Hawiye clan, so Mahdi was never able to assert his authority beyond North Mogadishu and its northern environs. The USC split into two rival factions led by Aidid and Mahdi respectively, which began to fight each other for control of the interim central government and the capital city of Mogadishu. The other opposition groups began competing for influence in the power vacuum, but no group was strong enough to defeat the others.¹⁰ The SPM, active around Kis-mayo in southern Somalia, split into two factions as well, with one group supporting Aidid and the other aligned with Mahdi. After Barre failed twice to retake Mogadishu, Aidid forced him into exile on April 29, 1992.¹¹ With no clear military victor and no effective central government, central and southern Somalia sank deeper into anarchy and chaos.

Drought and Famine

Adding to the suffering of the Somali people, a three-year drought devastated Somali subsistence farming and led to widespread famine. Food and water became weapons as rival groups deprived each other of these precious resources. Individual Somalis could not tend their crops or livestock in the midst of armed conflict, and local food production dropped precipitously. With lawlessness an everyday reality, the Somali people armed themselves, formed local militias for collective defense, or hired others for protection.¹²

The civil war and drought caused widespread death and destruction in Somalia. Almost one million Somalis sought refuge in neighboring countries and elsewhere. According to the U.N., almost 4.5 million Somalis—over half its estimated population of 8.3 million—suffered from severe malnutrition and related disease.¹³ Beyond the immediate humanitarian crisis, the continuing civil war threatened the stability of the entire Horn of Africa region.

Early United Nations Efforts

In January 1991, the U.N. began to coordinate international humanitarian efforts to relieve the suffering of the Somali people. By March, six main U.N. organizations were operating in Somalia: the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, United Nations Development Programme, United Nations Children's Fund, Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the World Food Programme, and World Health Organization. In addition, more than 30 international and local non-governmen-

tal organizations (NGOs) were operating in Somalia as U.N. “implementing partners.” Over the following months, the volatile security situation forced the U.N. on several occasions to withdraw its personnel temporarily, but despite these interruptions, it continued its humanitarian activities in cooperation with the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and other NGOs.

On December 27, 1991, as the situation in Somalia continued to deteriorate, U.N. Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar (Peru), in cooperation with the League of Arab States (LAS), the Organization of African Unity (OAU), and the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC), began an initiative to restore peace in Somalia. His term as Secretary-General expired on December 31, and Boutros Boutros-Ghali (Egypt) succeeded to the post on January 1, 1992. In early January, Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs James O.C. Jonah (Sierra Leone) led a team of senior U.N. officials into Somalia to arrange a ceasefire and secure access to the civilian population by the international relief community. All faction leaders expressed unanimous support for a U.N. role in achieving national reconciliation. All but General Aidid expressed support for a ceasefire in Mogadishu. On January 20, the Charge d’Affaires of Somalia, Fatun Mohamed Hassan, wrote a letter requesting a meeting of the Security Council on the situation in Somalia.

On January 23, 1992, the U.N. Security Council adopted Resolution 733 (Appendix E), urging all parties to the conflict to cease hostilities, and calling on all states to implement an immediate embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Somalia. The Security Council requested that the Secretary-General increase humanitarian assistance to the

affected population, and contact all parties involved in the conflict to seek their commitment to the cessation of hostilities, promote a ceasefire, and assist in reaching a political settlement.¹⁴

On January 31, Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali invited the LAS, OAU, and OIC, as well as representatives of Interim President Mahdi and General Aidid, to participate in consultations at U.N. Headquarters. The parties held talks on February 12-14, which resulted in Mahdi and Aidid agreeing to an immediate ceasefire. Both faction leaders also consented to a visit by a high-level delegation from the U.N., OAU, LAS, and OIC to conclude a ceasefire agreement. The delegation arrived in Mogadishu on February 29. On March 3, Mahdi and Aidid signed an "Agreement on the Implementation of a Ceasefire."¹⁵ In this document, the rival faction leaders accepted the deployment of a U.N. military contingent to provide security for humanitarian relief convoys, and 20 military observers to monitor the ceasefire. Based on this agreement, the Security Council adopted Resolution 746 (Appendix F) on March 17, supporting the Secretary-General's decision to send a technical team to Somalia from March 23 to April 1 to prepare plans for monitoring the ceasefire and delivering humanitarian assistance. Accordingly, on March 27 and 28, respectively, Aidid and Mahdi agreed to implement a ceasefire in Mogadishu and to accept U.N. "mechanisms for monitoring the ceasefire and for the equitable and effective distribution of humanitarian assistance."¹⁶

United Nations Operation in Somalia I (UNOSOM I)

On April 24, 1992, in accordance with the agreements reached with Mahdi and Aidid in Mogadishu, the Security Council adopted Resolution 751 (Appendix G), which established UNOSOM as a Chapter VI (peacekeeping) mission to monitor the ceasefire and assist the humanitarian relief effort. In the resolution, the Security Council requested the Secretary-General deploy 50 unarmed uniformed U.N. military observers immediately to monitor the ceasefire in Mogadishu. It also agreed, in principle, to establish a U.N. security force as soon as possible to provide protection and security for U.N. personnel, equipment, and supplies at the seaports and airports in Mogadishu, and escort deliveries of humanitarian supplies from these ports to distribution centers in the city and its immediate environs. The Security Council also asked the Secretary-General, in cooperation with LAS, OAU, and OIC, to pursue a conference on national reconciliation and unity. Finally, the Security Council called on the international community to provide financial and other support for the Secretary-General's 90-day Plan of Action for Emergency Humanitarian Assistance to Somalia. On April 28, the Secretary-General appointed Mohammed Sahnoun (Algeria) as his Special Representative for Somalia to provide overall direction of U.N. activities in that country.¹⁷

On June 23, the Secretary-General informed the Security Council that Mahdi and Aidid had agreed to the immediate deployment of the unarmed military observers. The U.N. Chief Military Observer, Brigadier General Imtiaz Shaheen (Pakistan), and 45 unarmed UNOSOM military observers arrived in Mogadishu

on July 23, 1992, *almost four months after the rival faction leaders agreed to U.N. monitoring of the ceasefire*. On August 12, the Secretary-General informed the Security Council that Mahdi and Aidid would accept the deployment of 500 U.N. security personnel to Mogadishu as part of UNOSOM. The Government of Pakistan agreed to contribute a military unit for this purpose. The Pakistani security unit arrived in Mogadishu by U.S. airlift on September 14, 1992, *six months after Mahdi and Aidid agreed to their deployment*.

On July 22, the Secretary-General reported to the Security Council on the complex political and security situation in Somalia, as well as the country's desperate need for "humanitarian assistance, recovery programmes, and institution-building."¹⁸ The Secretary-General concluded that the U.N. needed to intensify its efforts to arrange a countrywide ceasefire and promote national reconciliation. The Security Council approved the Secretary-General's report on July 27 and adopted Resolution 767, urging all parties, movements, and factions in Somalia to facilitate U.N. efforts to provide humanitarian assistance to the affected population (Appendix H).

With the support of the Security Council, the Secretary-General sent another technical team to Somalia, August 2 to 15. In his subsequent 24 August 1992 report, the Secretary-General described a number of urgent steps to mitigate the widespread and escalating starvation in central and southern Somalia. While the U.N. and its partners were ready and able to provide substantially increased humanitarian assistance, large-scale looting of relief supplies stymied their efforts. The Secretary-General recommended the deployment of four additional U.N. security units, each with a strength of up to 750 personnel, to protect

the humanitarian convoys and distribution centers throughout Somalia. He also recommended establishing four UNOSOM zone headquarters, each headed by a civilian official who would assist the Special Representative in all aspects of his duties. On August 28, the Security Council approved the Secretary-General's report and adopted Resolution 775 (Appendix I), which authorized the increase of 3,000 troops for the UNOSOM mission. Further, on September 8, the Security Council approved the Secretary-General's plan to deploy three logistic units (up to 719 personnel) to support the enlarged UNOSOM operation. Consequently, the total authorized strength of UNOSOM rose to 4,219 all ranks.¹⁹

Operation PROVIDE RELIEF

The U.S. government was initially reluctant to get involved in Somalia, hoping that voluntary contributions from Saudi Arabia and other neighboring countries would resolve the humanitarian crisis. With the Cold War won, no U.S. vital national interests were at stake in Somalia. Remembering the U.S. peacekeeping experience from 1982 to 1984 in the Lebanese Civil War, General Powell wanted to avoid another open-ended commitment with no clear objectives. Other participants in the policy debate warned that getting involved in Somalia on humanitarian grounds would establish a dangerous precedent. Smith Hampstone, the U.S. Ambassador to Kenya, wrote in a diplomatic cable on July 30, 1992:

There is little reason to believe that the bitter and long-standing clan rivalries that have turned Somalia into a particularly murderous African Lebanon will yield to

outside intervention Tragic as the situation is in Somalia . . . the dissolution of the Somali nation-state does not affect vital U.S. security interests. Accordingly, USG should think—and think again—before allowing itself to become bogged down in a quagmire without the promise of offsetting concomitant benefits.²⁰

Eventually, however, political and humanitarian concerns overcame these objections. In late July 1992, President George H.W. Bush decided to support UNOSOM by accelerating the delivery of relief supplies, promoting national reconciliation, and transporting the 500-man Pakistani security force to Mogadishu. On August 16, the CJCS issued an execute order to General Joseph P. Hoar (USMC), Commander-in-Chief of the U.S. Central Command (USCINCCENT), to commence Operation PROVIDE RELIEF and the associated airlift of emergency relief supplies into Somalia. Initially, four C-141 and eight C-130 aircraft participated in the operation, with the number of C-130 aircraft growing to 14 by December 1992. The first U.S. military flight into Somalia occurred on August 28. Military aircraft brought relief supplies to distribution centers in the interior of Somalia, but Somali warlords and gangs stole the relief supplies as soon as they arrived, just as it was happening on the docks of Somali seaports. The first UNOSOM security unit arrived in Mogadishu by U.S. airlift on September 14, but General Aidid refused to allow the Pakistanis to protect the docks or the relief convoys. Aidid's forces outnumbered and outgunned the Pakistanis who, "did not try to move out from the airfield and could not be persuaded to protect relief convoys."²¹

On October 21, two months after the Security Council adopted Resolution 775, the Deputies Committee of the U.S. National Security Council (NSC) endorsed

a greater U.N. security presence in Somalia.²² On October 26, U.N. Special Representative Sahnoun resigned after publicly criticizing the inadequacy of the U.N. relief effort. Two days later, Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali asked the U.S. government to transport 3,000 additional security troops to reinforce UNOSOM: one battalion each from Belgium, Canada, Egypt, and Nigeria; a Norwegian headquarters company; and a Pakistani augmentation element. On November 4, the NSC agreed in principle to transport the U.N. security troops, but only if the security environment was permissive. *The U.N. troops would enter Somalia only with the consent of the warlords, because UNOSOM was a peacekeeping operation, not a peace enforcement operation* (see text box).

United Nations Terms

Peacemaking generally includes measures to address conflicts in progress and usually involves diplomatic action to bring hostile parties to a negotiated agreement. The U.N. Secretary-General may use his or her office to facilitate the resolution of the conflict. Peacemakers may also be envoys, governments, groups of states, regional organizations or the United Nations. Peacemaking efforts may also be undertaken by unofficial and non-governmental groups, or by a prominent personality working independently.

Peace enforcement involves the application of a range of coercive measures, including the use of military force. It requires the explicit authorization of the Security Council. It is used to restore international peace and security in situations where the Security Council has decided to act in the face of a threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression. The Council may utilize, where appropriate, regional organizations and agencies for enforcement action under its authority and in accordance with the U.N. Charter.

Peacebuilding aims to reduce the risk of lapsing or relapsing into conflict by strengthening national capacities at all levels for conflict management, and to lay the foundation for sustainable peace and development. It is a complex, long-term process of creating the necessary conditions for sustainable peace. Peacebuilding measures address core issues that affect the functioning of society and the State, and seek to enhance the capacity of the State to carry out its core functions effectively and legitimately.

Peacekeeping operations, in principle, support the implementation of a ceasefire or peace agreement, but they are often required to play an active role in peacemaking efforts and may also be involved in early peacebuilding activities. Today's multidimensional peacekeeping operations facilitate the political process, protect civilians, assist in the disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration of former combatants; support the organization of elections, protect and promote human rights and assist in restoring the rule of law. Peacekeepers may use force to defend themselves, their mandate, and civilians, particularly in situations where the State is unable to provide security and maintain public order.

Source: United Nations, "United Nations Peacekeeping," <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/operations/peace.shtml>, accessed on November 24, 2015

Operational Environment

The situation in Somalia in November 1992 manifested three disturbing patterns. First and most important, clan dynamics were still a dominant force in Somali society. Second, the Barre government reforms had destroyed the balance of power among the clans, and removed many of the old mechanisms by which Somali society had kept clan rivalries and violence within acceptable limits.²³ Third, the Somali clans had

accumulated large quantities of weapons (including tanks and artillery) while Somalia was a client state of the Soviet Union and the United States, intensifying the level of societal violence and the threat to intervening forces. The United States, U.N., and international relief community would have to understand and address these patterns to be successful in Somalia.²⁴

In October and November 1992, despite all the efforts of the international community, the U.N. Secretary-General, and his Special Representative for Somalia, the situation continued to deteriorate. Somalia remained without a central government. Rival militias continued to clash in the divided city of Mogadishu. Throughout the country, clan-based factions fought each other for power and resources. The resulting political chaos and physical destruction led to widespread looting, armed banditry, and general lawlessness. These deplorable conditions prevented the delivery and distribution of relief supplies to the affected Somali population. Compounding this tragedy, several powerful Somali factions, most notably those led by Interim President Mahdi and General Aidid, intimidated into inaction the U.N. troops responsible for securing the delivery and distribution of relief supplies.

Somali Opposition

On November 22, 1992, General Hoar issued his estimate of the situation, in which he assumed that the primary threat to security would be the armed Somali factions.²⁵ He wrote, “Overall, the security environment throughout Somalia is volatile. The situation may deteriorate further because there is no centralized governmental control of Somali factions.”²⁶

The U.N. recognized 14 political factions in Somalia, and considered 11 of them to be warring factions. Four of these factions were responsible for most of the armed conflict during Operation RESTORE HOPE: The two USC factions led by General Aidid and Interim President Mahdi, the SNF led by General Morgan, and the SPM faction led by Colonel Jess. USCENTCOM estimated that General Aidid controlled about 20,000 USC troops, including 5,000-10,000 in Mogadishu. Interim President Mahdi controlled 15,000-30,000 USC troops, including 5,000-6,000 in Mogadishu. General Morgan controlled about 9,000 SNF troops, mostly in southern Somalia along the Kenya border and around Kismayo. Colonel Jess controlled an estimated 15,000 SPM troops, many of them former Somali National Army, including 3,000 in the Kismayo area. These troops had an intimate knowledge of their operational areas, but they were generally undisciplined, illiterate, and often under the influence of drugs. Although these troops were heavily armed, there were indications they suffered from shortages of ammunition and spare parts. Their ability to operate and maintain their heavy weapons was questionable.

Infrastructure

The U.S. and coalition forces would have to rely on Somalia's transportation systems to accomplish their mission, but Somalia was largely undeveloped. Somalia had no railroads. It had 18,000 kilometers of roads, but only 3,000 kilometers were paved and another 3,000 kilometers were graveled. The remaining 12,000 kilometers were dirt roads or tracks. The factions maintained few of these roads during the civil war.

Somalia had 40 airfields, but only ten of them were C-130 capable. Few of them had material-handling equipment or covered storage, and air traffic control was almost nonexistent. The airports at Mogadishu, Bale Dogle, Hargeisa, and Kismayo had rudimentary maintenance and service facilities.

Somalia had three major seaports at Mogadishu, Kismayo, and Berbera. The port of Berbera was on the Gulf of Aden in the autonomous Somaliland region. The condition of the material handling equipment at the other two ports was uncertain.

Health Conditions

The Horn of Africa presented medical challenges to military forces operating in the region. The famine made numerous endemic diseases more virulent among the affected population. Poor sanitation made dysentery and cholera common and frequently lethal. Virtually all water was unpotable, even if boiled. An effective preventive medicine program was essential to the preservation of the force.

Political Implications

In addition to the massive humanitarian crisis, the potential failure of the UNOSOM peacekeeping mission threatened the credibility of U.N. peacekeeping operations worldwide. While the United States enjoyed its “peace dividend” after the Cold War, the Serbs in Bosnia, Khmer Rouge in Cambodia, and rival tribes in Africa, among others, all watched to see whether the U.N. could compel warring factions to comply with Security Council resolutions designed to maintain or restore peace and order in a failed

state. Similarly, foreign political leaders evaluated U.N. management of the Somali crisis to determine the suitability and effectiveness of working through the U.N. to resolve similar conflicts in the post-Cold War era. The international community sought to understand how the United States, the only remaining super-power, would redefine its role as the leader of the Free World. The United States struggled with this question as well.

Strategic Guidance

The U.S. Decision to Intervene

On November 6, 1992, the NSC Policy Coordination Committee (PCC) for Africa, chaired by Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Herman Cohen, reconvened to discuss the situation. The PCC Chair, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Robert Houdek, asked the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) whether the U.N. peacekeeping strategy appeared likely to succeed. Three days later, the CIA estimated that “far more than 3,500 troops would be needed to ensure that relief supplies reached the two million Somalis in danger of starvation.”²⁷

In Mogadishu, General Aidid continued to threaten the UNOSOM security force and thwart U.N. relief efforts. On November 6, the U.S. Ambassador to the U.N., Edwards Perkins, sent a cable to the Department of State explaining that the worldwide credibility of U.N. peacekeeping was at stake, arguing the Serbs in Bosnia and the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia would pay no heed to the U.N. Security Council “if bandits force it to take flight in Somalia.” He urged “a clear show of force and a demonstrable willingness to use it

[against] the smallest bully on the block.”²⁸ However, General Hoar at USCENTCOM was worried that if the United States took the lead, other nations would not join what they perceived was a unilateral U.S. operation.

On November 12, the NSC PCC for Africa endorsed the CIA assessment and agreed the NSC Deputies Committee should decide whether to recommend a significantly larger U.N. troop presence in Somalia. It was becoming clear that the PROVIDE RELIEF “airlift alone could not prevent mass starvation” in Somalia.²⁹ On November 16, the new U.N. Special Representative to Somalia, Ismat Kittani (Iraq), reported that humanitarian supplies had become the basis for an otherwise non-existent economy. He reported that Somali “authorities” at all levels competed for anything of value; threats and killing often decided the outcome.³⁰ They were extorting large sums of money from NGOs, and perhaps no more than 20 percent of relief supplies reached the intended recipients. On November 20, the Deputies Committee requested that USCENTCOM submit military courses of action for NSC consideration. Two days later, General Hoar proposed three alternatives:

1. Employ a brigade-size force to establish a lodgment area at Kismayo in southern Somalia, expanding the operation to Mogadishu in later phases.
2. Employ a division-size force to secure Mogadishu, expanding the operation to Kismayo and into the interior in later phases.
3. Seize Mogadishu and Kismayo simultaneously.

General Hoar recommended course of action two because it seized Somalia’s political center of gravity

and largest seaport, but he rated course of action one as acceptable.

The Joint Staff J-5 also developed three options:

1. Continue the current U.N. operation with expanded U.S. air and sealift.
2. Urge the U.N. to accelerate and increase the deployment of U.N. security forces to 10,000 to 15,000 troops instead of the planned 3,500. Provide logistical support and an off-shore Amphibious Ready Group (ARG) with an embarked Marine Expeditionary Unit (MEU) to deter Somali attacks on U.N. forces (and to presumably act as a Quick Reaction Force (QRF) if deterrence failed).
3. Organize a division-size U.S.-led coalition force under U.N. auspices.

The NSC Deputies Committee considered the Joint Staff options on November 23. The Department of State favored Option Two, but there were four major issues. First, the Deputies Committee wanted U.S. officers to command U.S. troops, as was done during the Korean War. Second, Deputies Committee members discussed whether U.S. troops should focus on the humanitarian relief mission and leave political issues to the U.N. The DoD representatives argued successfully that no such distinction was possible because U.S. troops could not perform the relief mission without challenging the warlords, destabilizing the political situation, and pursuing structural political changes. Third, the DoD representatives argued that the NSC Staff proposal for a four- to six-month timetable was meaningless because the operation would be event-driven. Fourth, all the representatives agreed on a

troop strength of about 15,000 to establish and secure an effective food distribution system.³¹

On November 25, President Bush presided over a decisive NSC meeting. Generals Powell and Hoar both recommended Joint Staff Option Three. Both officers were reluctant to intervene, but they believed the situation had deteriorated to the point that Option Three was the only realistic option if the President decided to intervene. Secretary of Defense Richard Cheney concurred. However, General Powell warned the President that "it would be foolish not to anticipate taking on the full spectrum of Somalia's problems . . . other consequences would follow and getting out would be difficult."³² *President Bush selected Option Three, understanding that it could lead to confronting the warlords and disarming the factions.* Public sentiment shaped the decision; the Somali tragedy was massive and the media made it vivid. No U.S. vital interests were at stake in Somalia, but the United States wanted to preserve the credibility of U.N. peacekeeping operations. Only the United States possessed the means to intervene promptly and decisively. There was agreement that the Korean War precedent was the one to follow, with a U.S. commander carrying out Security Council resolutions. National Security Advisor Brent Scowcroft wanted U.S. troops out of Somalia before President Bush left office on January 20, 1993, but General Powell and Secretary Cheney informed him this was infeasible. Based on President Bush's decision to intervene, General Powell issued an alert order to General Hoar. A planning order followed on December 1.

The U.N. Decision to Expand UNOSOM

The U.N. considered a variety of options for dealing with the worsening situation in Somalia, including a potential expansion of the UNISOM role. U.S. Government representatives and U.N. staff members met regularly to exchange information and coordinate actions, but they did not agree on a strategic approach to address the humanitarian crisis. In a letter to the U.N. Security Council on November 24, 1992, the Secretary-General reported on the deteriorating situation in Somalia and the factors preventing UNOSOM from implementing its mandate. He cited the lack of a central government in Somalia; the failure of various factions to cooperate with UNOSOM; the extortion, blackmail and robbery of the international relief effort; and the repeated attacks on the personnel and equipment of the U.N. and other relief agencies. The Security Council members discussed this letter the next day, agreed the situation in Somalia was intolerable, and asked the Secretary-General to present specific recommendations on how the U.N. could remedy the situation. On November 29, the Secretary-General submitted to the Security Council another letter, outlining five options for the Council's consideration:

1. Continue efforts to deploy the 4,200 UNOSOM security troops that the Security Council authorized in September.
2. Withdraw UNOSOM.
3. Stage a UNOSOM show of force in Mogadishu and actually use force if necessary.
4. Have U.N. members conduct a countrywide operation to create the conditions necessary to ensure the delivery of relief supplies.
5. Conduct a countrywide operation under U.N. command and control.

The Secretary-General rated Options One, Two, and Three unacceptable, and Option Five infeasible. He recommended Option Four, which was similar to the option President Bush selected on November 25, but extended the operation countrywide instead of focusing on central and southern Somalia. The Secretary-General informed the Security Council of a visit he received on November 25 from Lawrence Eagleburger, Acting U.S. Secretary of State, who indicated that, should the Security Council decide to authorize member states to ensure the delivery of relief supplies, the United States would be ready to take the lead in organizing and commanding the multinational operation. The Secretary-General stressed that such an operation should be precisely defined and limited in duration, “in order to prepare the way for a return to peacekeeping and post-conflict peace-building.”³³

The Security Council selected Option Four. On December 3, it adopted Resolution 794 (Appendix J), authorizing the use of “all necessary means to establish as soon as possible a secure environment for humanitarian relief operations in Somalia.” *It was the first time the Security Council elected to intervene in the internal affairs of a country without a request from the country’s central government*, which was unavoidable because Somalia did not have a legitimate central government. Acting under Chapter VII (peace enforcement) of the U.N. Charter, the Security Council authorized the Secretary-General and the participating member states to arrange for “the unified command and control” of deploying military forces. It called on all member states that were in a position to do so to provide military forces and make cash or in-kind contributions. The Security Council requested that the Secretary-General establish a fund through which donors could channel

contributions to participating states or the U.N. operation as a whole.³⁴

Resolution 794 authorized the United States to intervene in Somalia with a U.S. commander leading a multinational effort under U.N. auspices. In return, the U.S. government conceded a supervisory role to the UN. Both the U.S. government and the U.N. anticipated that a U.N. peacekeeping force would relieve the U.S.-led force as soon as practicable.

In a televised address to the nation on December 4, President Bush announced to the American people that U.S. ground forces would enter Somalia, under the auspices of U.N. Security Council Resolution 794, to conduct Operation RESTORE HOPE. In this address, he clearly stressed the limited mission of U.S. ground forces:

First, we will create a secure environment in the hardest hit parts of Somalia, so that food can move from ships over land to the people in the countryside now devastated by starvation.

Second, once we have created that secure environment, we will withdraw our troops, handing the security mission back to a regular U.N. peacekeeping force. Our mission has a limited objective: To open the supply routes, to get the food moving, and to prepare the way for a U.N. peacekeeping force to keep it moving. This operation is not open-ended. We will not stay one day longer than is absolutely necessary.

Let me be very clear: Our mission is humanitarian, but we will not tolerate armed gangs ripping off their own people, condemning them to death by starvation. General Hoar and his troops have the authority to take whatever military action is necessary to safeguard the lives of our troops and the lives of Somalia's people. The outlaw elements in Somalia must understand this

is serious business. We will accomplish our mission. We have no intent to remain in Somalia with fighting forces, but we are determined to do it right, to secure an environment that will allow food to get to the starving people of Somalia.

To the people of Somalia I promise this: We do not plan to dictate political outcomes. We respect your sovereignty and independence. Based on my conversations with other coalition leaders, I can state with confidence: We come to your country for one reason only, to enable the starving to be fed.³⁵

That same day, President Bush authorized US-CINCCENT to take whatever military action was necessary to safeguard American and Somali lives, enabling the joint force commander to issue permissive rules of engagement focused on force protection.³⁶ At the urging of General Powell, President Bush recalled Ambassador Robert Oakley, formerly U.S. Ambassador in Somalia from 1983-1984, from retirement and appointed him U.S. Special Envoy to Somalia. President Bush also sent a letter to Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali, emphasizing the U.S.-led peace enforcement operation should have a limited, specific mission: *Create conditions that would allow the feeding of starving Somalis and make possible the transfer of security functions to a follow-on U.N. peacekeeping force.* By December 7, 12 member states had offered 13,650 troops for the U.S.-led peace enforcement mission, and five others had offered 5,653 personnel for UNOSOM peacekeeping duties.³⁷

Planning and Preparation

The Joint Staff, USCENTCOM, and Joint Task Force (JTF) Somalia used standard crisis action procedures to plan the operation. Because of close collaboration among the three staffs and other supporting organizations, planning was concurrent, rapid, and effective. The key players knew and trusted each other because of their shared experience during Operations DESERT SHIELD and DESERT STORM. The preexisting working relationships among many commanders and staff officers contributed to the efficiency of the planning effort.

Mission Statement

General Powell's warning order to General Hoar on December 1, 1992, included this mission statement:

When directed by the [President or Secretary of Defense], USCINCCENT will conduct military operations in Somalia to secure the major food distribution points and air/seaports, guard relief convoys and relief organization operations, and assist relief organizations in providing humanitarian relief in Somalia under U.N. auspices.³⁸

On December 2, General Powell issued a planning order that assigned USCINCCENT an additional mission: "disarm, as necessary, forces which interfere with humanitarian relief operations." The subsequent execute order contained the same language. However, when General Hoar protested strongly, General Powell deleted this additional mission on December 6.

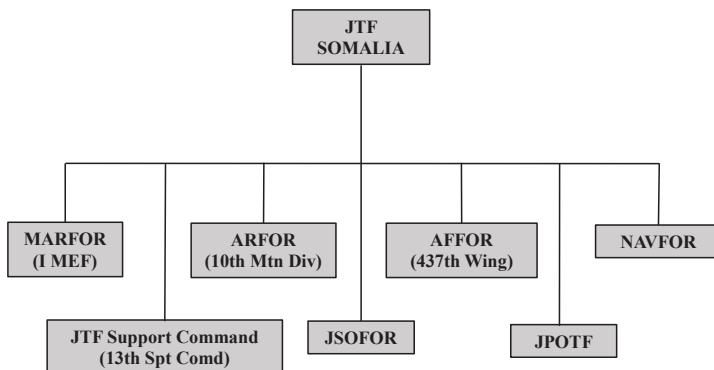
Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali protested the deletion of the additional mission. In a letter dated De-

ember 8, he told President Bush the purpose of the intervention should be to “create a secure environment throughout Somalia.”³⁹ The Secretary-General believed it was essential to neutralize the factions’ heavy weapons. Despite this protest, President Bush assigned USCENTCOM a more limited mission. He restricted efforts to disarm the factions and focused on neutralizing weaponry that interfered with relief operations. He refused to deploy U.S. troops into northern Somalia to challenge the secession of the former British Somaliland, where no relief effort was necessary.⁴⁰

U.S. Joint Task Force Organization

On November 27, 1992, General Hoar designated the I Marine Expeditionary Force (MEF), based at Camp Pendleton, California, as the headquarters and nucleus for JTF Somalia. The I MEF commander, Lieutenant General Robert B. Johnston (USMC) became the JTF commander. As General Hoar later wrote: “Designating a component or element headquarters as the foundation of the mission . . . allowed an established service staff to transition quickly to a [JTF staff] with little need for start-up time.”⁴¹

General Johnston’s first decision was whether to organize the new JTF by service or functional component. He saw no need for a Joint Force Air Component Commander to integrate the service air assets committed to the operation, or a Joint Force Land Component Commander to integrate Marine Corps and Army ground forces, so he organized the JTF by service component.



JTF Somalia Task Organization 1992-1993

The I MEF staff had experience exercising command and control over Marine air-ground task forces, but it was not large or diverse enough to function effectively as a JTF staff. All four services augmented the I MEF staff with their best people, and these individuals quickly integrated into the new JTF, with Marines comprising 57 percent of the expanded staff.

The subordinate elements of I MEF contributed heavily to the JTF task organization (Appendix K). With General Johnston serving as JTF Commander, Major General Charles E. Wilhelm (USMC) took command of Marine Forces (MARFOR) Somalia. General Wilhelm's augmented 1st Marine Division headquarters became the headquarters of an integrated Marine air-ground task force with elements of the 1st Marine Division; 3rd Marine Aircraft Wing; 1st Surveillance, Reconnaissance, and Intelligence Group; and 1st Force Service Support Group (FSSG).

The nucleus for Army Forces (ARFOR) Somalia was the 10th Mountain Division, a light infantry division based at Fort Drum, New York. Its Commanding

General, Major General Steven L. Arnold (USA), knew General Johnston well, having served with him as Operations Officer of the Third U.S. Army during Operations DESERT SHIELD and DESERT STORM. General Arnold commanded the 10th Mountain Division during the disaster relief mission in southern Florida after Hurricane Andrew struck in August 1992.

The *Ranger Carrier Battle Group* and the *Tripoli* ARG, with the 15th MEU embarked, became the nucleus of Naval Forces (NAVFOR) Somalia. These task groups were already operating in the USCENTCOM area of responsibility. The three ships of Maritime Prepositioning Squadron (MPS) 2, based at the British island of Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean, joined NAVFOR, as did the naval forces of coalition partners. The first NAVFOR commander was Rear Admiral William J. Hancock (USN), but command changed hands five times during the operation.

Brigadier General Thomas R. Mikolajcik (USAF) commanded Air Force Forces (AFFOR) Somalia.⁴² With only 500 Air Force personnel deployed in theater, AFFOR was responsible for the inter- and intra-theater air movement and delivery of supplies, equipment, and troops.

General Johnston made three exceptions to the service component structure of the JTF. The original plan was to sustain the JTF initially using the assets of the 1st FSSG and MPS 2, with ARFOR assuming responsibility for JTF logistics about D+50.⁴³ Recognizing that expeditionary logistics in a remote and austere operational area would be a critical challenge, General Johnston established a functional JTF Support Command reporting directly to the JTF headquarters, even though the JTF Support Command was composed entirely of Army units. The 13th Corps Support

Command, based at Fort Hood, Texas, commanded by Brigadier General Billy K. Solomon (USA), provided the JTF Support Command headquarters. His major subordinate units were the 593rd Area Support Group, 62nd Medical Group, and 7th Transportation Group, with their subordinate units coming from the United States and Europe.

The second functional component of the JTF was Joint Special Operations Force (JSOFOR) Somalia, commanded by Colonel Thomas D. Smith (USA), the Director of Operations (J-3) of Special Operations Command, Central Command (SOCCENT). SOCCENT already had Army Special Forces and Air Force Special Operations Forces combat air traffic controllers in Somalia. Their mission was to support Operation PROVIDE RELIEF by controlling air traffic at the austere airfields that would receive relief supplies. Reprising their primary role in Operations DESERT SHIELD and DESERT STORM, SOCCENT organized eight six-man coalition support teams to coordinate close air support, medical evacuation, and other operational support matters for the coalition forces from Pakistan, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Belgium, France, Botswana, Canada, and Italy.

The third functional component of the JTF was the Joint Psychological Operations Task Force (JPOTF) Somalia. Lieutenant Colonel Charles Borchini (USA) commanded this component.⁴⁴

Concept of Operations

USCENTCOM issued its operation order on December 5, 1991, four days before the anticipated D-Day on December 9. The mission statement was to:

Conduct joint/combined military operations in Somalia to secure the major air and seaports, key installations and food distribution points, to provide open and free passage of relief supplies, provide security for convoys and relief organization operations, and to assist in providing humanitarian relief under U.N. auspices.⁴⁵

The USCENTCOM staff defined the desired end state for the operation as “the creation of an environment where U.N. and relief organizations can assume responsibility for security and relief operations.”⁴⁶ USCENTCOM understood the need to establish precise measures for determining when JTF Somalia had established a secure environment and accomplished its mission. However, determining which measures of effectiveness to use remained a problem for much of the operation.

Anticipating clan and faction resistance, USCENTCOM prepared a concept of operations with four slow-paced phases:

- **Phase I**, D-Day (December 9) through D+24: Embarked Marines would secure the port and airfield at Mogadishu. Follow-on Marine and Army elements would occupy Baidoa and Bale Dogle airfields northwest of Mogadishu.
- **Phase II**, D+24 through D+90: An Army brigade would secure the lodgment area around Baidoa, and occupy relief centers at Belet Weyne, Oddur and Gialalassi.
- **Phase III**, D+90 through D+180: Follow-on coalition forces would secure the port and airfield at Kismayo, the land route between Baidoa and Bardera, and Bardera itself.
- **Phase IV**, D+180 through D+240: The JTF would transfer responsibility to a U.N. peace-keeping force.

Because of the close cooperation between the US-CENTCOM and JTF staffs, the JTF was able to issue its operation order on December 6, one day after issuance of the USCENTCOM order. The JTF Somalia mission statement was essentially identical to the USCENTCOM mission statement. The JTF commander's intent was as follows:

JTF Somalia will focus on securing the lines of communication used for the ground movement of relief supplies by U.N. and [NGO] agencies to distribution sites. JTF Somalia will not be primarily involved in transporting supplies, but will assist relief organizations by securing their operating bases as well as the ground transportation routes to relief distribution sites.⁴⁷

The JTF Operation Order had four phases:

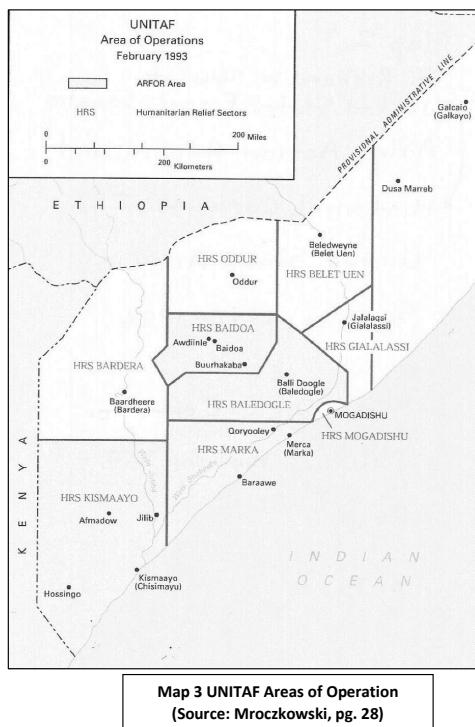
- **Phase I:** Establish a base of operations and logistics in Mogadishu to gain control over the flow of humanitarian relief supplies through the city and enable the movement of U.N. forces throughout the JTF area of operations (AO). Amphibious forces would secure the seaport and airport, and establish a lodgment area for follow-on forces.
- **Phase II:** Expand the operation to the major interior relief distribution sites at Gialalassi, Bardera, Belet Weyne, Oddur, and elsewhere as required; and establish sufficient security to enable unimpeded relief operations.
- **Phase III:** Expand the operation to additional seaports and airports, including Kismayo.
- **Phase IV:** Transition from a U.S.-led to a U.N.-controlled effort with a gradual relief in place of JTF forces.

Humanitarian Relief Sectors

The JTF plan divided the area of operations into eight humanitarian relief sectors (HRS), each centered on a major city serving as a distribution center: Mogadishu, Bale Dogle, Baidoa, Bardera, Kismayo, Oddur, Gialalassi, and Belet Weyne (see Map 3). The JTF established the HRS boundaries by simple grid coordinates, without regard to the clan or tribal affiliation of the local inhabitants or the former administrative districts of Somalia (see Map 1). During the operation, the JTF added a ninth HRS centered on Merka.

Rules of Engagement

In an operational area devoid of the rule of law, the JTF developed permissive rules of engagement (ROE) focused on force protection. All JTF members had the right to protect themselves not only against a hostile act, but also against the perceived threat of such an act. JTF members did not have to wait to be fired upon before taking action; a



weapon aimed in a threatening manner was sufficient cause. The JTF considered all technical vehicles and crew-served weapons as threats, regardless of intent.⁴⁸ The JTF printed and distributed ROE pocket cards, and conducted classes to ensure all JTF members understood their rights and responsibilities under the ROE. During the operation, UNITAF troops were highly disciplined in the face of Somali provocations, and incidents of overreaction were rare.

Deployment and Intervention

Phase I – Establishing the Lodgment Area

The *Tripoli* ARG and its embarked 15th MEU departed Singapore on November 23, 1992, and arrived off the southern Somali coast on December 3. At 0500 hours on December 9, a Marine-SEAL task unit went ashore to secure the Mogadishu port facility before the main landing at 0540 hours. The MEU used the landing as a dramatic show of force to minimize opposition. The Marines' strength and speed of execution were evident as they moved beyond their initial objectives and into the city without any Somali opposition. The Marines secured the abandoned U.S. Embassy compound, which would serve as the JTF headquarters. The airport was open at 1145 hours and the first C-130 aircraft landed soon after, followed by a C-141 aircraft carrying members of the JTF headquarters to establish the JTF (Forward) command post. The first coalition contingent, a company of the French 2nd Foreign Legion Parachute Regiment, arrived by air from its base in Djibouti.

According to Marine historian Colonel Dennis Mroczkowski, Mogadishu was in ruins when the Marines seized control of the city:

There was no electricity, no running water, or no functioning sanitation system. Law enforcement was non-existent because there were no police or judicial system. Public buildings had been looted and destroyed and most private homes were severely damaged; virtually every structure was missing its roof and had broken walls, doors, and windows. The commerce of the city was at a standstill. Schools were closed and gangs of youths roamed the streets. Crowded refugee

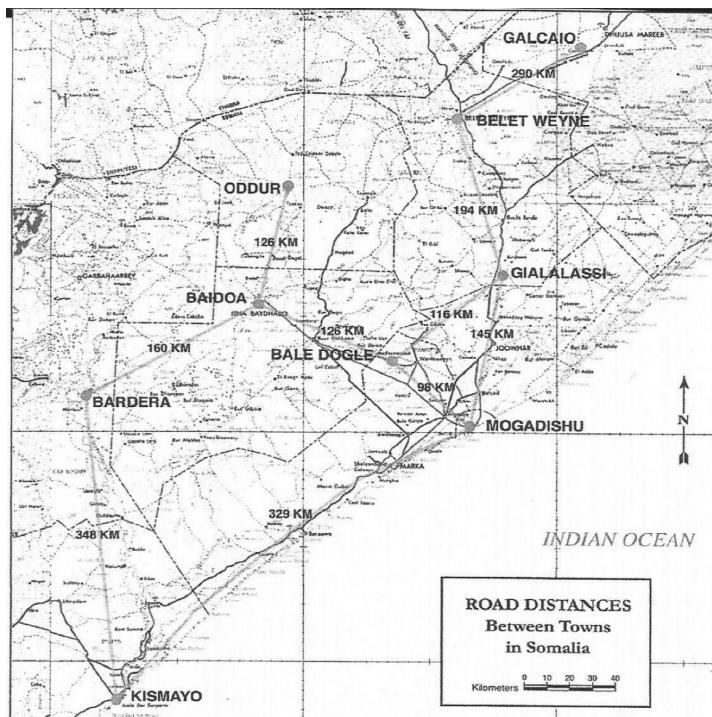
camps seemingly filled every parcel of open land, and new graves were encountered everywhere. Gunfire could be heard throughout the city.⁴⁹

The JTF focused on force and logistical build-up for the next week. The first maritime prepositioning ship entered the port of Mogadishu on D-Day and began offloading directly onto the pier, expediting its delivery of much-needed engineering equipment and construction materials to rebuild the port facilities. General Johnston flew into Mogadishu on December 10. General Wilhelm and MARFOR headquarters arrived in Mogadishu by air on December 11 and initially took operational control of all U.S. and coalition land forces on the ground.

Coalition military contingents also began arriving in Mogadishu. Forces from France, Belgium, Italy, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Turkey, and Australia arrived throughout December 1992.⁵⁰ The creation of a cohesive multinational force was challenging. USCENTCOM screened potential coalition partners to ensure their forces were operationally capable, mobile, and willing to adhere to U.S. operational control and rules of engagement. However, it had no authority to reject a military contribution from a U.N. member state. USCENTCOM built the multinational force around large and capable military contingents from France, Italy, Belgium, Canada, Australia, and Turkey. In total, 23 member states contributed military forces to the operation (Appendix K).⁵¹

Bale Dogle: On December 13, General Wilhelm began to expand the UNITAF lodgment area into the interior (see Map 4). The 2nd Battalion, 9th Marines, conducted a heliborne assault to secure **Bale Dogle** airfield, 98 kilometers northwest of Mogadishu. Later

that day, the lead elements of the 2nd Brigade, 10th Mountain Division, flew directly into Bale Dogle, followed by the Canadian Airborne Regiment Battle Group on December 14. On December 15, the 2nd Brigade assumed responsibility for the Bale Dogle HS.



Map 4 Road Distances Between Towns in Somalia

(Source: Mroczkowski, pg. 42)

Baidoa: On December 16, Task Force Hope, comprising elements of the 15th MEU and French forces, secured the Baidoa airport, another important distribution center 126 kilometers northwest of Bale Dogle in the interior. Thereafter, the 1st Marine Division assumed responsibility for the Baidoa HRS. By Decem-

ber 16 (D+7), the JTF had secured the first three HRS and completed Phase I of the operation 17 days ahead of schedule.

Unified Task Force (UNITAF)

The U.S.-led coalition force adopted the designation of UNITAF. While the U.S. Government expected General Johnston would command all U.N. forces in Somalia, the U.N. decided that UNITAF would not exercise operational control over UNOSOM I. Consequently, General Johnston exercised only coordinating authority over UNOSOM I, which remained in Mogadishu, monitoring the ceasefire and planning for the transition from UNITAF to UNOSOM II. This diversion from the principle of unity of command contributed to different approaches to transition planning, with disastrous consequences after the change-over from UNITAF to UNOSOM II.

Phase II – Securing the Major Relief Distribution Centers

The Bale Dogle and Baidoa operations established the tactical approach for Phase II: UNITAF used a series of joint and combined operations to secure the major relief distribution centers in central and southern Somalia, using the coalition forces that had volunteered to assume responsibility for the respective HRS whenever possible. U.S. forces were under the tactical control of coalition commanders for the initial operation and then withdrew after the coalition unit assumed responsibility for the HRS. Ambassador Oakley, the U.S. Special Envoy, played a key role during this phase. Before the start of each operation,

he travelled to the city and met with tribal elders and leaders to explain in detail what was about to happen, assure them of the peaceful intentions and humanitarian purpose of the operation, and warn them not to oppose the UNITAF forces. The next day, aircraft would drop leaflets to repeat this message directly to the local population. The approach worked; there was no opposition to any of these UNITAF operations. UNITAF relied heavily on psychological operations to explain its actions to the local Somali leaders and population, and the overwhelming strength and speed of coalition forces presented the warlords with an unacceptable risk if they provoked UNITAF.

Kismayo: The next objective was Kismayo, Somalia's second largest seaport, located 329 kilometers southwest of Mogadishu. Two warring factions—Colonel Jess's SPF and General Morgan's SNF—vied for control of the city. On December 17, the two warlords agreed to declare Kismayo an open city. Jess would remain in the city, and Morgan would move his forces 30 kilometers to the north. On December 20, elements of the 15th MEU and the Belgian 1st Parachute Battalion made an unopposed amphibious landing at Kismayo. With the arrival of additional Belgian forces, the Marines were withdrawn the next day and the Belgians assumed responsibility for the Kismayo HRS.

Bardera: On December 22, a mechanized task force of the 7th Marines departed Mogadishu on a road movement to Bardera, 217 kilometers southwest of Baidoa. The task force secured Bardera and assumed responsibility for the Bardera HRS on December 24.

Oddur: On December 24, a combined French-U.S. task force began its road movement to secure Oddur, 110 kilometers north of Baidoa, close to the Ethiopian border, arriving on December 25. Over the next few

days, the remaining French forces in Somalia moved to Oddur, secured the surrounding towns, and assumed responsibility for the Oddur HRS. On December 29, Major General Rene de l'Home, the French commander, requested a boundary change to include the town of Tiyegloo in the Oddur HRS.⁵²

Gialalassi: On December 27, the Italian Folgore Airborne Brigade began its road movement from Mogadishu to Gialalassi, 115 kilometers to the north of Mogadishu. The Italians secured the airfield by 1800 hours and assumed responsibility for the Gialalassi HRS the next day.

Belet Weyne: On December 28, a U.S.-Canadian task force conducted a heliborne assault to secure the Belet Weyne airfield, 320 kilometers north of Mogadishu, near the Ethiopian border. Additional forces flew in to reinforce the assault elements, and by December 30, the Canadians assumed sole responsibility for the Belet Weyne HRS, the last of the eight original HRS.

Merka: UNITAF added a ninth HRS around the port city of Merka, 70 kilometers southwest of Mogadishu.⁵³ A corrupt Somali major had conspired with local bandits to prevent the delivery of relief supplies to NGOs operating in the city for six months. On December 28, a combined U.S.-Italian task force conducted a ground and heliborne assault to secure the airfield and seaport. The 2nd Brigade, 10th Mountain Division, assumed responsibility for the Merka HRS, which was adjacent to its Bale Dogle HRS.

The successful completion of the Belet Weyne operation on December 30 (D+21) marked the end of Phase II, 69 days ahead of schedule. Coalition forces had established nine HRS and secured the major distribution points. A network of nine major supply routes connected the sectors and distribution points,

thereby permitting the unimpeded delivery and distribution of relief supplies. Engineering efforts were underway to improve the supply routes and remove thousands of land mines endangering coalition forces and the local population.

President Bush visited UNITAF over the New Year's holiday. He arrived in Mogadishu on December 31, visiting units in the city and aboard ships in the harbor. On January 1, he visited units in Baidoa and Bale Dogle.

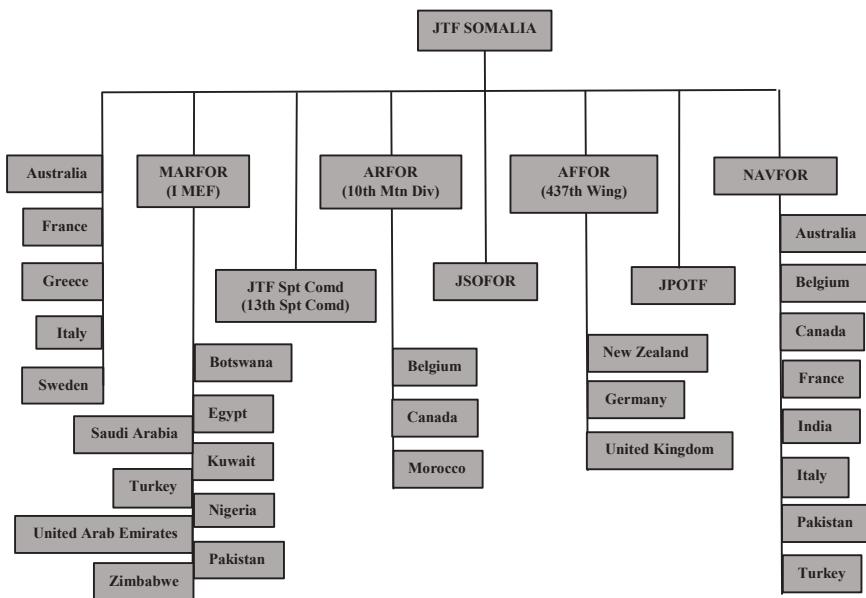
Two factors contributed to the rapid UNITAF success during Phase II. First, the Somali factions did not oppose UNITAF security operations. The overwhelming strength and speed of coalition forces, and the relatively unrestrictive rules of engagement, presented the warlords with an unacceptable risk if they provoked UNITAF. Nevertheless, there were sporadic violent incidents. On December 23, a UNITAF vehicle struck a Soviet land mine near Bardera, and Lawrence Friedman, a U.S. government civilian employee and retired U.S. Army Special Forces sergeant major, became the first UNITAF member killed in the performance of duty.

Second, UNITAF relied heavily on psychological operations to explain its actions to the local Somali leaders and population. The visits by Ambassador Oakley; the effective use of radio broadcasts, leaflet drops, and publication of a Somali-language newspaper; and the restraint exercised by coalition forces persuaded the Somali people of the peaceful and humanitarian purpose of the UNITAF presence in their country.

Phase III – Stabilizing the Area of Operations

Once UNITAF established the nine HRS and ensured the unimpeded delivery and distribution of relief supplies, it began to expand its operations beyond the major distribution centers to stabilize the entire area of operations. General Johnston and Ambassador Oakley “recognized very early that this was a very, very complex environment.”⁵⁴ Military success was necessary but insufficient to achieve U.S. and U.N. political objectives. It bears noting, as Prussian soldier-philosopher Carl von Clausewitz wrote in *On War*, “the political object is the goal . . . and [military] means can never be considered in isolation from their purpose.”⁵⁵

Ultimately, General Johnson and Ambassador Oakley decided that the strategic aim, or desired end state, was the end of organized political violence by the warring factions, and the suppression of criminal violence by armed bandit groups. Based on this aim, the UNITAF staff developed a set of measures of performance and effectiveness (“indicators”) in five categories: resistance to UNITAF operations, humanitarian relief, infrastructure, populace, and transition actions. Each sector commander reported weekly on these indicators, so the UNITAF leadership could assess progress toward achieving the strategic aim of the operation.



UNITAF Task Organization Phase III

Political-Military Operations

As the Marine Corps noted in Fleet Marine Force Manual 1-1, *Campaigning* (1990): “The more limited the aims of conflict, the less predominantly military is the conduct of the war, and the more difficult it is to translate [strategic] aims into military conditions.”⁵⁶ *Stabilization depended on political engagement to establish conditions for a peaceful solution to the civil war, but successful political dialogue with the warring faction leaders depended on UNITAF military power to make the faction leaders turn to non-military measures to protect and advance their interests.*

Ambassador Oakley played a key role in the integration of political and military activities. He recognized the necessity to assist the military leadership with political issues. He and General Johnston supported each other seamlessly and presented a united front to the Somali factions. The two leaders established a coordinating committee that met at least daily “to tie the diplomatic-political considerations with our military power.”⁵⁷ It was a cooperative effort with neither side dictating to the other, and it enabled the coalition leadership to speak with one voice and present a clear message to the faction leaders. As a unified team, General Johnston and Ambassador Oakley addressed three major political issues: disarmament, reconciliation, and internal security.

Disarmament

The U.S. government was convinced the Somali factions would fight rather than disarm under U.N. coercion. President Bush specifically excluded disarmament as a specified task for UNITAF because it was infeasible and unnecessary to the limited UNITAF mission of providing a secure environment for the humanitarian relief operations. The sheer volume of small arms made their confiscation impossible, and there were legitimate needs for the Somali people to have weapons to protect themselves. There were local militias in many towns and villages that protected their communities against armed banditry. The NGOs hired local security forces to protect their operations. Disarming the Somali people, even if feasible, would increase the burden on UNITAF to provide internal security beyond its resources to do so. Nevertheless, General Johnston had to do something to reduce the

number of weapons in the UNITAF area of operations to mitigate the threat to coalition forces.

On December 8, 1992, Acting Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger instructed General Johnston to make the following points during his first meeting with the Somali warlords:

- UNITAF would not permit weapons in “exclusion areas,” which initially included the Mogadishu seaports and airports and the American Embassy compound.
- UNITAF would permit heavy weapons only in “cantonment areas,” meaning small and clearly defined areas where personnel and equipment were encamped.⁵⁸

On December 11, based on these instructions, General Johnston and Ambassador Oakley implemented a weapons control program in their area of operations. The first priority was to remove the technical vehicles from Mogadishu, where they posed a serious threat to coalition forces and the Somali people. At their first meeting with Interim President Mahdi and General Aidid on December 11, the two warlords agreed to move their technical vehicles and heavy weapons voluntarily to cantonment areas (“authorized storage sites”) outside the city, where UNITAF personnel would monitor them (Appendix L). UNITAF used this initial agreement to obtain similar arrangements in the other HRS. Colonel Jess and General Morgan in the Kismayo HRS were the last to comply, after Task Force Kismayo confiscated several non-compliant technical vehicles. On January 8, UNITAF implemented a program of weapons registration and banned the open carrying of unregistered (“unauthorized”) weapons to protect coalition and Somali lives. Coalition forc-

es enforced this ban by confiscating unauthorized weapons.

Reconciliation

Reconciliation depended on the willingness of the faction leaders to accept the reduction of their power and agree to a political settlement of the civil war. General Johnston and Ambassador Oakley began the reconciliation process during their initial meeting with Aidid and Mahdi on December 11. On December 28, the two warlords agreed to abolish the “Green Line” that divided Mogadishu into factional areas. Subsequently, Ambassador Oakley established and chaired a political committee that brought the faction leaders together to discuss and resolve their issues and concerns peacefully. Brigadier General Anthony C. Zinni, the UNITAF Director for Operations (J-3), established and chaired a security committee that brought together the leaders of the faction militias to discuss and resolve security issues and address other concerns, such as ceasefire violations and weapons control. By bringing the faction leaders together to resolve their differences peacefully, these two committees moved the two factions incrementally toward defusing the violent power struggle among the clans.

The Secretary-General convened an informal meeting in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, on January 4-15, 1993, to prepare for a national reconciliation conference under U.N. auspices. A total of 14 Somali political factions participated in the meeting, along with the Secretaries-General of LAS, OAU, and OIC; the Chairman of the Standing Committee of the Countries of the Horn; and representatives of the Chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. The parties concluded and signed three formal agreements:⁵⁹

- The General Agreement of January 8, 1993 (Appendix M), in which the parties agreed to:
 - A conference on national reconciliation in Addis Ababa on March 15, 1993;
 - An immediate and binding ceasefire in all parts of the country under the control of the concerned warring factions;
 - Immediate cessation of all hostile propaganda against each other;
 - Full and unrestrained cooperation with the international relief effort;
 - Facilitation of the free movement of the Somali people throughout the entire country.
- An Agreement on Implementing the Ceasefire and on Modalities of Disarmament (Appendix M), including the voluntary encampment, disarmament, and demobilization of the factions under the auspices of a U.N. ceasefire-monitoring group.
- An agreement on the establishment of an ad hoc committee to help resolve the criteria for participation at, and the agenda for, the conference on national reconciliation on March 15, 1993.

The voluntary encampment of faction forces outside Somali cities and towns created a challenging new mission for the U.N. Besides UNITAF, the only U.N. military presence in Somalia was UNOSOM I and its 500-member Pakistani security unit. UNITAF agreed to assist with the new mission within its area of operations, but monitoring the ceasefire and assisting outside its area of operations were beyond its assigned mission. The U.N. had to act quickly to take advantage of the window of opportunity opened at

the Addis Abba meeting, but “*getting the U.N. to act with resolution and dispatch was an issue that would confront the UNITAF staff*” for the rest of its time in Somalia.⁶⁰

The U.N. held the conference on national reconciliation at Addis Abba on March 15-27. All Somali factions participated except the SNM, which controlled the secessionist Republic of Somaliland in northwest Somalia. The representatives unanimously adopted the Addis Abba Agreement of the First Session of the Conference on National Reconciliation in Somalia (Appendix N). In the agreement, all factions (except the SNM) committed to ending the civil war and peacefully reconciling their differences in a two-year transition period leading to a new central government in March 1995. The factions also pledged to a “complete and simultaneous disarmament” throughout the country within 90 days and asked UNITAF and UNOSOM I to assist in the disarmament process by accepting their weapons.

Internal Security

Before the civil war, Somalia had a 40,000-member national police force that the Somali people respected and trusted because it did not align with any clan. The national police force evaporated during the civil war, but the arrival of UNITAF provided the opportunity to reestablish it. On January 14, the faction members of General Zinni’s security committee told him they wanted to assume responsibility for their own security. General Johnston and Ambassador Oakley wanted to help because a national police force would reduce the UNITAF security burden, weaken the power of the most intransigent faction leaders, and facilitate the transition to the follow-on U.N. peacekeeping mission.

However, helping to reestablish a Somali national police force was beyond the UNITAF peace enforcement mandate and was inconsistent with U.S. law, which generally prohibits U.S. military forces from training, advising, or supporting foreign law enforcement forces.⁶¹ At the time, U.S. law also prohibited U.S. military forces from providing foreign military assistance to Somalia.⁶² To avoid violating U.S. law, General Johnston and Ambassador Oakley decided to establish an “auxiliary security force,” which included former Somali police officers that were locally vetted.⁶³ The U.N. provided most of the funds. The U.N. World Food Programme paid the force with food. The Italian, Australian, and French contingents, unconstrained by their national laws, helped with training. By January 30, a 3,000-member auxiliary security force was operating from 14 stations around Mogadishu to provide much-needed security to the Somali people.⁶⁴

Civil-Military Operations

Based on the recent experience with the Kurdish relief efforts during Operation PROVIDE COMFORT in northern Iraq, the UNITAF senior leaders understood the importance of establishing good relationships with the NGOs conducting relief operations in Somalia. UNITAF established a civil-military operations center in Mogadishu and placed civil-military operations teams in each HRS. These UNITAF elements worked closely with the humanitarian operations center established by the Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance, U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), to plan, support, and monitor the delivery and distribution of relief supplies. Colonel Kevin M. Kennedy was dual-hatted as Director of the Civil-Military Op-

erations Center and Military Deputy Director of the Humanitarian Operations Center, to foster unity of effort and facilitate the provision of military support, such as convoy escort, security of facilities, and space-available use of military flights.⁶⁵

Psychological Operations

The JPOTF mission was to present a benevolent image of the U.S./U.N. humanitarian presence, capable and willing to use force to protect the relief effort. General Johnston also tasked the JPOTF to assure all factions of JTF impartiality in the conduct of the relief operations, and its neutrality in the civil war, to dissuade the factions from impeding the relief operations. The JPOTF used face-to-face communications, radio and loudspeaker broadcasts, leaflets, posters, coloring books, and other printed products to disseminate its messages to the local populace.⁶⁶

Stabilization in the Sectors

UNITAF sector commanders were also achieving success in their HRS. Every HRS used a system of checkpoints and patrols to create a secure environment for the unimpeded delivery and distribution of humanitarian relief supplies. Every HRS security force implemented the UNITAF weapons control policy, used civil-military operations teams to coordinate the needs of NGOs, established a local auxiliary security force, cleared mines, and established councils or committees that placed responsibility for local governance and security back in the hands of local elders and leaders. However, the conditions in each HRS were unique. Recognizing this fact. General Johnston

gave broad mission guidance to the sector commanders and trusted them to adapt to local conditions.

Mogadishu: By the end of December 1992, the 2,000-member MARFOR Task Force Mogadishu implemented its plan to collect information on the city, the local population, and armed groups; establish a presence with foot patrols and checkpoints to reduce violence and reassure the local populace of UNITAF's benign intent; and conduct raids against the city's arms markets and caches. The increased MARFOR presence drove weapons off the streets and made the city safer. However, sporadic and random shooting incidents continued in Mogadishu.⁶⁷ On the night of January 12, 1993, Somali small arms fire killed Private First Class Domingo Arroyo, a field wireman with the 11th Marines, when his security patrol was ambushed near the airport. He was the first uniformed member of UNITAF to die in Somalia.

Task Force Mogadishu implemented an operation from December 28, 1992, to January 6, 1993, to clear the city's main roads of all types of rubbish and the debris of war. The operation allowed MARFOR to move rapidly throughout the city, but it also allowed the local population to reopen roadside markets and resume local economic activity.

On January 6, members of General Aidid's faction at two authorized weapons storage sites fired on a UNITAF convoy traveling through Mogadishu. A U.S. Marine task force surrounded the two storage sites. The next morning, the Marines attacked to seize the sites and confiscate all the weapons and equipment located in them, including four tanks, nine howitzers, and 13 armored personnel carriers.

On February 22, 1993, the SNF forces of General Morgan attacked the SPM forces of Colonel Jess in a

fight for control of Kismayo. Morgan was an ally of Interim President Mahdi, while Jess was an ally of General Aidid (see below). The next day, Aidid disregarded UNITAF actions against Morgan, used his own propaganda services to spread the story that UNITAF cooperated with General Morgan in the attack on Colonel Jess, and called upon his followers to attack UNITAF forces in Mogadishu. That evening, thousands of Somalis took to the streets, demonstrating, setting up roadblocks, and starting fires. The civil disturbances continued until February 25, when Marines sealed off and swept the area. Quiet returned, but the Marines learned a valuable lesson: Cayenne pepper spray in aerosol cans is more effective than tear gas. The Marines issued protective visors that attached to helmets, and fabricated "cow-catchers" for their vehicles to allow them to move through crowds and barricades with minimal harm to demonstrators.

Bale Dogle; On January 12, 1993, the Moroccan contingent began to relieve the 10th Mountain Division from responsibility for the Bale Dogle HRS, completing the relief on March 1. The primary mission was to provide security to the air base, which served as a major aerial port for the operation. The Moroccans patrolled the sector and escorted convoys in their light tactical vehicles. The King of Morocco expanded his country's mission to include establishing a large hospital that saw 400-500 people daily, and providing an engineering specialist to help purify water in the sector. The Bale Dogle HRS soon became one of the quietest sectors in the UNITAF area of operations, with few reported incidents.

Baidoa: When MARFOR occupied Baido, armed bandits plagued the town, not warring factions. These bandits openly carried weapons in the city. The Ma-

rines patrolled aggressively, conducted raids, and told the local leaders they would seize any weapon openly carried on the streets, any crew-served weapon, and any technical vehicle with a gun mount. The power of the bandits declined, and the local elders reasserted their authority within the first few days of the Marines' arrival. With help from a Marine civil-military operations team and local NGOs, the elders established a security council with representatives of all major groups and clans. With a rudimentary local governance mechanism in place, conditions in Baidoa began to improve. By early January, people were back on the streets, the markets were open, and the local buses were running.

On January 16, responsibility for the Baidoa HRS transferred from MARFOR to ARFOR, with the Marines at Baidoa temporarily under the operational control of the 10th Mountain Division. The next day, the lead elements of the Australian contingent flew into Baidoa. On January 19, the Australians assumed responsibility for the sector. The Australians launched an aggressive four-month anti-banditry campaign, confiscating and destroying almost 1,000 weapons, while being engaged only four times and sustaining no casualties.

Bardera: The Somali civil war had ravaged the town of Bardera. General Abdi Dahir Warsame led the local clan faction, the United Somali Party. The townspeople felt no obligation to help displaced refugees from the outlying areas, with whom they did not share any family or clan relations. Some 300 refugees died each day from starvation, disease, and the depredations of armed bandits. With the arrival of the Marines and the unimpeded distribution of relief supplies, that number soon dropped to less than 30 a day. As in Baidoa,

the Marines helped the local elders to establish a security council and restore local governance. By February 7, Bardera had an auxiliary security force. The influence of armed bandits declined, and Bardera became a quiet sector for the next four months.

Oddur: Most of the population of Oddur came from the Rahanweyne clan, but the sub-clans fought among themselves. As in Bardera, the townspeople felt no obligation to help displaced refugees who were not related to them, especially those belonging to the rival Ogaden clan from near the Ethiopian border. The French contingent, many of whom had served in Djibouti and understood the importance of Somali clan affiliation, employed the “oil spot” tactic the French had developed during the colonial wars in Indochina, Madagascar, and Morocco from 1890 to 1925.⁶⁸ The French broke down the sector into three sub-sectors centered on Oddur, Wajid, and Tiyegloo. A battalion occupied each sub-sector. Within the sub-sectors, ten company-sized forces occupied towns or hamlets, and ten platoons occupied other locations. The French operated from these 20 strongpoints to establish their presence throughout the sector. A heliborne QRF at Oddur was ready to intervene if any strongpoint needed reinforcement. This tactic allowed the French to establish security in the sector, while controlling the flow of refugees and bandits across the ill-defined frontier between Somalia and Ethiopia.

Gialalassi: Because of Italy’s colonial past in Somalia, Italian participation in UNITAF concerned General Johnston. He did not know how the Somalis would react to the presence of Italian troops, or whether the warlords would use their participation for propaganda purposes. General Johnston gradually moved the Italian contingent into Mogadishu, where the Ital-

ians reclaimed and secured their embassy compound. He then moved Italian forces into the countryside, while assessing the Somali reaction to their presence. After the successful Merka and Gialalassi operations during Phase II, General Johnston extended the Gialalassi HRS to include the area in northeast Mogadishu where the Italian embassy compound was located, in an area controlled by Mahdi's forces. Most of the other UNITAF forces in Mogadishu occupied positions in the southwest of the city, in areas controlled by Aidid's forces. This gradual approach calmed any Somali concerns regarding Italian neocolonialism or UNITAF favoritism toward one faction or the other.

The Italians occupied their sector of Mogadishu and the towns of Balcad, Jawhar, and Gialalassi. A battalion-size task force occupied each strongpoint, with the Italian headquarters centrally located in Balcad. Task Force Alpha in Mogadishu had the highest number of incidents as the forces of Aidid and Mahdi continued to clash in Mogadishu. MARFOR and the Italians coordinated their operations in the city, exchanged liaison, and established the U.S.-Italian Task Force Columbus to conduct combined patrols. The main threat to the other Italian strongpoints came from armed bandits.

Merka: A battalion task force from the 2nd Brigade, 10th Mountain Division, occupied the Merka HRS. Armed banditry was a problem in and around the town of Afgooye, which was astride a major supply route in the adjacent Bale Dogle HRS. On January 31, the 2nd Brigade began a large cordon and search operation at Afgooye to suppress banditry, and then left behind the 98th Military Police Company to maintain order. On March 1, when the Moroccans assumed responsibility for the Bale Dagle HRS, General Johnston transferred Afgooye to the Merka HRS under ARFOR control.

Belet Weyne: The Canadians divided their HRS into four sub-sectors and quickly began aggressive patrolling throughout the sector. Most of the sector was quiet by the end of January, but the political situation to the north and east caused concern. A USC faction loyal to General Aidid had a strong presence in the sector and in the adjoining area outside the UNITAF area of operations. Another USC faction in the sector declared itself independent of both Aidid and Mahdi. Strong SNF, SSDF, and SNM forces also operated in and beyond the sector, near the frontier with Ethiopia. The Canadians acted as a buffer separating the factions and prevented incidents along the international frontier by establishing personal relationships with local Somali and Ethiopian leaders.

Kismayo: ARFOR established Task Force Kismayo to assume responsibility for the Kismayo HRS. The 10th Mountain Division Artillery provided the task force headquarters, which controlled the Belgian 1st Parachute Battalion; U.S. 1st Battalion, 14th Infantry; and other division assets. Brigadier General W. Lawson Magruder III (USA), the Assistant Division Commander, commanded the task force.

After Mogadishu, the Kismayo HRS had the greatest number of incidents. The major ARFOR challenge was to keep the warring SNF and SPM factions separated. On December 29, General Magruder met with Colonel Jess, local elders and leaders, and former police officers to establish an interim security council for the sector. The council established an auxiliary security force that conducted patrolling and manned checkpoints with coalition forces. On January 1, the council issued a “no weapons” policy that banned the open carrying of unauthorized weapons and the transport of crew-served weapons within the city limits.

On January 15, the factions agreed to a ceasefire requiring all factional forces to remain in place. Less than one week later, General Morgan's SNF forces began to move south from the Kenyan border to confront Colonel Jess's forces for control of Kismayo. On January 23, General Magruder met personally with General Morgan, explained the "no weapons" policy, and told him that UNITAF would destroy any crew-served weapons or technical vehicles found outside factional cantonment areas. General Morgan told General Magruder the locations of his forces in the sector. General Morgan said he had already instructed his forces not to engage coalition forces or interfere with relief convoys. General Morgan agreed not to initiate attacks against other factions, but this agreement did not last 24 hours. On January 24, Morgan's forces attacked Colonel Jess's cantonment area at Bir Xanni, 35 kilometers from Kismayo. After Morgan ignored two UNITAF warnings, General Johnston ordered General Magruder to stop Morgan's advance by force. U.S. attack helicopters engaged Morgan's forces, which returned fire and then withdrew. After this UNITAF strike, the factional fighting in the sector ceased. The sector entered a period of simmering tension that lasted a month.

On February 22, General Morgan infiltrated small groups into Kismayo and attacked Colonel Jess's forces in a short but intense action, killing innocent civilians and terrorizing the entire city. General Johnston and Ambassador Oakley issued an ultimatum to General Morgan, directing him to withdraw from the lower Jubba Valley to locations north of Dhoble by February 25, or face a UNITAF attack against his non-compliant forces. As Morgan's fighters withdrew, General Magruder ordered Colonel Jess to move his

forces out of the city to the Jilib area. These actions were “timely, effective, and balanced,” but they sparked three days of civil disturbances in Mogadishu when General Aidid’s followers protested UNITAF military actions against Aidid’s southern ally, as previously addressed.⁶⁹

On March 5, ARFOR relinquished responsibility for the Kismayo HRS to the Belgian contingent. On March 16, General Morgan’s forces again attacked to seize control of Kismayo. Jess’s followers fled, and UNITAF committed its 500-member QRF and 13 attack helicopters to push Morgan’s forces out of the city. On March 25, the *Wasp* ARG landed the 24th MEU at the port of Kismayo to reinforce the Belgians. By the end of March, UNITAF had restored order in the city and the sector.

These tactical actions had two serious consequences. First, General Aidid lost credibility with his followers because their civil disturbances were unsuccessful, causing him to seek an opportunity to regain his former stature.⁷⁰ Second, the Kismayo actions caused the United States and U.N. to reevaluate the transition to UNOSOM II and revise the UNITAF redeployment schedule.

Redeployment and Rotation

Concurrent with stabilization efforts, UNITAF began a three-phase reduction of the U.S. presence as other coalition elements arrived and assumed responsibility for HRS from U.S. troops. From January 15 to February 5, MARFOR and ARFOR reduced their contingents to reinforced brigades, and the JTF Support Command assumed responsibility for logistical support of the residual forces. From February

6-20, the UNITAF headquarters, AFFOR, NAVFOR, JOSOF, and the JTF Support Command began their drawdown. From February 21 to March 5, MARFOR and ARFOR reduced their forces to understrength brigades.

Phase IV – Transition to UNOSOM II

By the end of Phase III, the Somali people were ready to further the reconciliation process. Unfortunately, *the U.N. was not prepared to exploit UNITAF successes*, as General Zinni noted on March 19:

The key to the fourth phase is the U.N. structures to provide security and basic humanitarian needs. Nations of the world must provide funding and forces. The presence of security forces will be needed for a while. The factions must reconcile their differences and agree on how to restructure the government. The U.N. must help with basic services and infrastructure to allow them to be self-sustaining.⁷¹

Initial Transition Planning

Transition planning began on December 10, 1992 (D+1), when the Bush NSC agreed that UNOSOM II would need a stronger Security Council mandate than the original UNOSOM authorization. The NSC directed the State Department to prepare a draft U.N. Security Council resolution, and instructed the Joint Staff to prepare a paper describing what UNOSOM II should look like. By December 23, the Joint Staff proposed a solution to facilitate a rapid transition from UNITAF to UNOSOM II:

- The U.N. Security Council would approve a new UNOSOM II mandate calling for an inter-

national security force of 12-15,000 personnel with adequate weaponry to meet hostile challenges; permissive rules of engagement, allowing the destruction of heavy weapons; and authority to help establish a Somali police force.

- The United States would urge UNITAF contributors to join UNOSOM II.
- The United States would provide 3-5,000 personnel with unique military capabilities – communications, engineers, logistics, air traffic control, civil affairs – to UNOSOM II.
- UNOSOM II forces would extend their operations into northern Somalia.
- With few exceptions, UNITAF and UNOSOM II would neutralize heavy weapons wherever they found them.
- UNITAF would continue to pacify southern and central Somalia, while UNOSOM II “developed greater confidence and operational integrity” in the north.
- Some UNITAF units would shift into UNOSOM II.
- After U.S. forces left Somalia, the United States would maintain a small QRF offshore under USCENTCOM control to respond to emergencies.⁷²

On December 19, Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali submitted to the U.N. Security Council a report outlining his transition plan. Like the U.S. plan, it called for an expanded military mandate, substantially greater troop levels, and an incremental area-by-area transfer of responsibility from UNITAF to UNOSOM II. However, the plan also called for UNITAF to disarm all organized factions, or at least confiscate their heavy

weapons; expand its area of operations into northern Somalia; and postpone the withdrawal of UNITAF until it met two conditions:

- Heavy weapons belonging to the organized factions are neutralized and brought under international control throughout Somalia.
- Heavy weapons belonging to “gangs” are confiscated and destroyed throughout Somalia.⁷³

On December 30, in Geneva, Ambassador Frank Wisner, Under Secretary of State for International Security Affairs, and Lieutenant General Barry McCaffrey, Assistant to the CJCS, conferred with Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali, pushing for a new Security Council resolution and transition planning. Boutros-Ghali preferred to wait until President-elect Bill Clinton took office. Nevertheless, weekly transition planning meetings between the Joint Staff and U.N. officials began on January 6. The Joint Staff officers “found no comparable staff expertise at U.N. Headquarters, a weakness that would become more evident and more crippling as time went on. *The U.N. headquarters could barely support a U.S.-led operation, much less a U.N. one.*”⁷⁴

The Change in U.S. Administrations

When President Bill Clinton took office on January 20, 1993, UNITAF consisted of 37,000 troops (24,000 U.S. and 13,000 coalition) in central and southern Somalia, covering about 40 percent of the country’s territory. The Bush Administration had secured offers of some 18,000 non-U.S. troops for UNOSOM II. President Clinton’s new NSC Deputies Committee, chaired by Samuel Berger, the incoming Deputy Assistant to

the President for National Security Affairs, convened on January 25. The committee made clear that President Clinton supported all of President Bush's policies "except willingness to play a major part in UNOSOM II."⁷⁵ Any contribution beyond a QRF and a few logistic units would require a Presidential decision. Two days later, Frank Wisner, now designated as Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, stated in a memorandum to the new Secretary of Defense, Les Aspin, that the price of success in Somalia was an extended commitment to provide logistic support to UNOSOM II. He also suggested the new Secretary of State, Warren Christopher, persuade Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali to do four things: support a new Security Council mandate for UNOSOM II under Article VII (peace enforcement), name a UNOSOM II commander, increase and improve the U.N. military support staff, and begin organizing a Somali police force under UNITAF and then UNOSOM II.⁷⁶

On January 27, General Hoar submitted to General Powell the USCENTCOM plan for withdrawing U.S. forces from Somalia:

- **Phase I:** Reduce U.S. forces to 15,500 troops ashore and 4,500 afloat, with MARFOR and ARFOR reduced to one reinforced brigade each.
- **Phase II:** Reduce U.S. forces to 12,000 troops ashore and 4,000 afloat, with MARFOR and ARFOR reduced to one understrength brigade each. Transfer responsibility of the nine HRS sector-by-sector from UNITAF to UNOSOM II.
- **Phase III:** Reduce U.S. forces to 6,500 troops ashore and 4,000 afloat, with only a QRF and limited logistic support units in Somalia.
- **Phase IV:** Reduce U.S. forces to 1,400 troops ashore and 4,500 afloat, with only logistic support units ashore and the QRF afloat.

The new NSC Principals Committee convened on January 28. It recommended the United States commit up to 4,000 support troops to UNOSOM II, about the same number the Joint Staff proposed in December. On January 29, General Johnston reported the UNITAF mission in southern and central Somalia complete, and he recommended a transition to UNOSOM II. The DoD wanted a rapid transition for budgetary reasons, because Operation RESTORE HOPE was funded out of the Services' operations and maintenance accounts. The DoD estimated that a three-month operation with 4,000 U.S. support troops would cost \$560 million, and the new Secretary of Defense, Les Aspin, submitted a zero-sum reprogramming request to Congress.⁷⁷

The Clinton Administration officials were evidently unaware of the questionable ability or willingness of the U.N. to lead an operation the size of UNOSOM II. On January 31, General Johnston expressed doubt that U.N. officials were truly committed to establishing UNOSOM II, and Ambassador Oakley warned that an "underlying culture of passivity and the bureaucratic manner in which all UNOSOM activities are conducted" boded ill for the future.⁷⁸

President Clinton ordered an interdepartmental review of U.S. policy, with focus on what could be done to prevent Somalia from "sliding back into anarchy and famine."⁷⁹ By late February, the National Intelligence Council reported that the creation of a stable society could take years and would require extensive external intervention. The new PCC for Africa reviewed all the responses to President Clinton's order, agreed that, "while the prospects for a new Somali political order appeared limited at best, a "bottom up" approach emphasizing local and regional governance had the best chance of succeeding," and that a strong U.S. ground presence was critical to success.⁸⁰

President Clinton was unwilling to extend the UNITAF mandate, but he was committed to the success of UNOSOM II. The Clinton Administration was “not fully confident that the objectives in Resolution 814 were realistic and within the capabilities of the U.N.” but the Administration believed that “a relatively benign environment would continue to exist, creating a chance for success.”⁸¹ On May 19, 1993, President Clinton issued Presidential Decision Directive 6. *The classified directive did not articulate a strategic goal, what political outcome the President sought, or a strategy to achieve the goal.* Perhaps the President believed U.N. Security Council Resolution 814 provided sufficient strategic guidance, given that the United States was planning to play only a supporting role in UNOSOM II. However, President Clinton did approve:

- Participation of 4,000 U.S. support troops under the operational control of UNOSOM II, the number reducing to 1,400 by January 1994.
- Retention in Somalia of a QRF in support of UNOSOM II, but under the operational control of USCENTCOM and with the U.S. Deputy Force Commander of UNOSOM II exercising tactical control of the QRF when it was employed in an emergency situation.⁸²
- Support of U.N. programs to collect heavy weapons and help create a professional Somali police force at the regional and national levels.

⁸³

The U.N. Transition Plan

On March 3, 1993, the Secretary-General submitted to the Security Council a report containing his recommendations concerning the transition from UNITAF

to UNOSOM II. UNITAF had a positive impact on the security situation in Somalia and on the effective delivery of humanitarian assistance. The Secretary-General pointed out, however, that despite the improvement, a secure environment had not yet been established in Somalia and incidents of violence continued to occur. There was still no effective functioning government in the country, no organized civilian police force, and no disciplined national armed forces. The security threat to personnel of the U.N. and its agencies, UNITAF, ICRC and the NGOs was still high in some areas of Mogadishu and other places in Somalia. There was no deployment of UNITAF or UNOSOM troops in northern Somalia, or along the Kenyan-Somali border, where security continued to be a matter of grave concern.⁸⁴

The Secretary-General concluded in his report that the Security Council should endow UNOSOM II with enforcement powers under Chapter VII of the U.N. Charter to enable it to establish a secure environment throughout Somalia. To that end, UNOSOM II, under the mandate recommended by the Secretary-General, would seek to complete the restoration of peace, stability, and law and order through disarmament and reconciliation. The recommended mandate would also empower UNOSOM II to assist the Somali people in rebuilding their economy and social and political life, re-establishing the country's institutional structure, achieving national political reconciliation, recreating a Somali State based on democratic governance, and rehabilitating the country's economy and infrastructure.⁸⁵ *In short, the U.N. committed itself to a "top-down" and open-ended nation-building effort, with disastrous consequences.*

The Secretary-General estimated that UNOSOM II would need a military force of 20,000 troops to carry out the assigned tasks and an additional 8,000 troops to provide logistic support. UNOSOM II would also include a civilian staff of approximately 2,800 individuals. In addition, the Secretary-General reported that the U.S. government agreed in principle to provide a tactical QRF in support of UNOSOM II. He suggested May 1, 1993, as the date of transfer of budgetary and administrative control from UNITAF to UNOSOM II. That date later changed to May 4.⁸⁶

On March 5, the Secretary-General appointed Admiral Jonathan T. Howe (USN, Retired) as his new Special Representative for Somalia for an initial period of three months, effective March 19. The Secretary-General asked Admiral Howe to oversee the transition from UNITAF to UNOSOM II, in addition to "promoting political reconciliation, coordinating humanitarian assistance, and paving the way for rehabilitation and reconstruction of the country."⁸⁷

On March 26, the Security Council, acting under Chapter VII of the U.N. Charter, adopted Resolution 814 (Appendix O). This resolution expanded the size and mandate of UNOSOM II in accordance with the Secretary-General's recommendations. It authorized an expanded UNOSOM II through October 31, 1993. The Security Council demanded that all Somali parties comply fully with the commitments they had undertaken, in particular with the Agreement on Implementing the Ceasefire and on Modalities of Disarmament signed at Addis Abba in January 1993. The Security Council insisted that all Somali parties ensure the safety of the personnel of all organizations engaged in humanitarian and other assistance to Somalia. The Security Council called upon all member

states, in particular those neighboring Somalia, to cooperate in the implementation of the arms embargo established under Resolution 733 (Appendix E). In other provisions of the resolution, the Security Council requested the Secretary-General, through his Special Representative, and with assistance from all relevant U.N. entities, to “provide humanitarian and other assistance to the people of Somalia in rehabilitating their political institutions and economy and promoting political settlement and national reconciliation.”⁸⁸

Resolution 814 made the UNOSOM II mission different from the UNITAF mission in four key respects. First, it was a U.N.-led operation with no member state serving as a lead nation.⁸⁹ Second, it expanded the UNOSOM II area of operations to encompass the entire country, including the secessionist northwest. Third, it called for total disarmament within 90 days. Fourth, it envisioned “top-down” nation-building concurrent with military operations to disarm and pacify the country.

UNOSOM II presented the U.N. with many challenges it had never experienced before. Unlike the United States, it had no standing military forces to deploy to Somalia. It was completely reliant on member nations contributing forces and staff personnel. As Brigadier General Zinni recalled:

There was no precedent for the [U.N.] to follow as it embarked on this course, no example but the one it was about to set, and there were many unanswered questions about the undertaking to which the international community had committed itself. Would member governments contribute sufficient troops, including the necessary logistics elements, and place them under the command of the United Nations? Would these forces be deployed in time for a smooth transi-

tion from UNITAF? Would the troop-contributing countries follow through on an enforcement mission if hostile action by one or more of the factions led to casualties among their troops? And would member states be willing to pay for what would inevitably be an expensive operation.”⁹⁰

The Actual Transition

By early March 1993, UNITAF had “accomplished much in terms of creating security, ending famine, and helping to encourage reconciliation and the reconstruction of social structures.”⁹¹ Ambassador Oakley departed Somalia on March 2. On March 8 (D+88), three months earlier than originally planned, the UNITAF operations staff officially began the transition to UNOSOM II. On March 9, Major General Thomas M. Montgomery (USA) arrived to become Commander, U.S. Forces Somalia, and Deputy Force Commander, UNOSOM II. On March 15, Lieutenant General Cevik Bir (Turkey) arrived to take command of UNOSOM II. That same day, UNOSOM II staff members began to integrate into the UNITAF operations center in a “twinning” process whereby counterparts worked next to each other until they were ready to take the hand-off of responsibility.⁹²

No transition was necessary in the five HRS where non-U.S. UNITAF forces remained in place under UNOSOM II control. These forces comprised the Moroccans in Bale Dogle, Australians in Baidoa, French in Oddur, Italians in Giallassi, and Canadians in Belet Weyne.

On March 5, the Belgian contingent assumed responsibility for the Kismayo HRS, and Task Force Kismayo began its move to Mogadishu, where it redeployed to the United States with the 10th Mountain

Division main command post on March 11. General Arnold redeployed two days later.

By March 13, MARFOR was concentrated in the Mogadishu and Bardera HRS. General Wilhelm redeployed on March 23. On March 26, the Pakistani UNOSOM II force assumed responsibility for the Mogadishu HRS. On April 18, the Botswanan UNOSOM II force assumed responsibility for the Bardera HRS.

On March 30, the advance party of the 1st Brigade, 10th Mountain Division, arrived in Mogadishu to relieve the 2nd Brigade.⁹³ The 1st Brigade assumed full responsibility for ARFOR operations, the UNITAF QRF, and the Merka HRS on April 9. On April 28, the 1st Brigade transferred responsibility for the Merka HRS to the Pakistani UNOSOM II force.

While the U.S. intent was to “ensure a seamless transition and prevent a significant loss in capability” during the transition, delays in the arrival of UNOSOM II troops created a significant underlap.⁹⁴ Nevertheless, the U.S. withdrawal continued, “to prevent the U.N. from further delaying its assumption of the mission.”⁹⁵ On May 4, 1993, in a ceremony at UNITAF headquarters, General Johnston transferred responsibility for all U.N. military operations in Somalia to General Bir. General Johnston and the remaining members of his staff redeployed the same day.

On June 29, 1993, UNITAF received the Joint Meritorious Unit Award for its exceptionally meritorious service in Operation RESTORE HOPE (Appendix Q).

Aftermath

As General Montgomery noted in the U.S. Forces Somalia after action report, “the seamless transition from UNITAF to UNOSOM II was not entirely seam-

less.”⁹⁶ At the time of the transfer of responsibility on May 4, UNOSOM II comprised about 16,000 personnel from 21 nations, 57 percent of its authorized strength of 28,000.⁹⁷ The UNOSOM II staff was at 22 percent of its authorized strength of 300 personnel.

[The UNOSOM II staff was] formed from scratch with no [standard operating procedures] or organic equipment or supporting infrastructure such as computers, office supplies, or communications systems. The presence of NATO [North Atlantic Treaty Organization] officers from Belgium, Canada, France and Italy on the staff facilitated the introduction of STANAG [Standard NATO Agreement] procedures and formats for orders and staff planning. However, there were many members of the staff who were unfamiliar with the STANAG.⁹⁸

On May 6, just two days after the transfer of responsibility, General Aidid tested the capabilities and will of UNOSOM II. Colonel Jess, General Aidid’s southern ally, attempted to retake Kismayo and clashed with the Belgians for two days. On June 5, General Aidid’s forces attacked Pakistani troops in Mogadishu, killing 24 and wounding 57. The next day, the U.N. Security Council adopted Resolution 837, strongly condemning the unprovoked attack and reaffirming that the Secretary-General was authorized to take all necessary measures against those responsible for the attack, including their arrest and detention for prosecution, trial, and punishment (Appendix P). On June 17, U.N. Special Envoy Jonathan Howe issued an arrest order for General Aidid and announced a \$25 million reward for his capture. UNOSOM II forces, supported by U.S. troops, began operations to capture General Aidid and bring him to justice as a war criminal. These

actions may have been appropriate, but they had unforeseen consequences. *UNOSOM II became a belligerent in the Somali civil war*, in direct confrontation with Aidid's strong political faction and its military forces. *Intentionally or not, the de facto objective of UNOSOM II shifted from peaceful political settlement to the military defeat of General Aidid.* Many Somalis believed they had to defend their land against the U.N. As the Somali proverb in the background section would have predicted, they joined General Aidid in his resistance against UNOSOM II.⁹⁹

After the adoption of Resolution 837, the UNOSOM II coalition forces began to lose their will to conduct the offensive actions (patrols, searches, etc.) necessary to maintain a secure environment in Mogadishu. General Montgomery, the UNOSOM II Deputy Force Commander, increasingly employed the U.S. QRF to perform these critical but non-emergency operations in the immediate vicinity of U.S. bases to protect U.S. forces.

In August 1993, the United States deployed Task Force Ranger to Mogadishu to support U.N. efforts to capture Aidid. At 1540 hours on October 3, the task force conducted a daylight raid to capture Aidid and some of his chief lieutenants. At 1620 hours, the Somalis shot down the first of two U.S. helicopters and surrounded the U.S. assault force. With no armored vehicles of its own, the U.S. QRF requested four Pakistani M-48 tanks and 28 Malaysian M-113 armored personnel carriers from the UNOSOM II QRF. Pakistani reluctance to commit its tanks to the relief effort delayed the operation until 2315 hours, when the U.S. QRF in the Malaysian vehicles began to fight its way through the streets of Mogadishu to rescue the assault force. The QRF reached the assault force at about 0230 hours,

but the last assault force members did not reach safety until 0700 hours. In 15 hours of fighting, U.S. casualties were 18 killed and 84 wounded. Two Malaysian soldiers were killed. One U.S. helicopter pilot, Chief Warrant Officer Michael Durant, was a prisoner for 11 days. Two members of Task Force Ranger, Master Sergeant Gary Gordon and Sergeant First Class Randall Shughart, received the Medal of Honor posthumously for their actions trying to rescue Chief Warrant Officer Durant during the battle. The Somalis claimed their casualties were 312 killed and 814 wounded.¹⁰⁰

The cost of a favorable political outcome in Somalia suddenly became more than the Clinton Administration was willing to bear. Televised images of a dead American being dragged through the streets of Mogadishu “fueled popular revulsion against staying in Somalia.”¹⁰¹ The Clinton Administration faced a firestorm of criticism from Congress. On October 7, President Clinton announced his decision to withdraw U.S. forces from Somalia by March 31, 1994.¹⁰² The U.S. forces in Somalia terminated their operations against General Aidid, and their primary mission became to, “protect our troops and our bases,” with the secondary mission to “keep open and secure the roads, port and lines of communication essential for the flow of relief supplies,” until the last U.S. troops withdrew on March 3, 1994.¹⁰³ Other nations followed the U.S. lead. On November 4, 1994, the U.N. Security Council adopted Resolution 954, terminating UNOSOM II on March 31, 1995. From January 9 to March 3, 1995, USCENTCOM conducted Operation UNITED SHIELD, a U.S.-led multinational military operation that safely evacuated all UNOSOM II troops from Somalia. By the time the U.S. Liaison Office closed on September 19, 1995, Somalia had regressed to a state of anarchy similar to

1992.¹⁰⁴ The civil war continued until August 20, 2012, when the Federal Government of Somalia replaced the interim Transitional Federal Institutions created from April to October 2004.

Assessment and Insights

Joint Publication 3-0, *Joint Operations*, identifies twelve principles of joint operations. Joint Publication 3-07, *Stability Operations*, emphasizes eight of these principles. What follows is an assessment of Operation RESTORE HOPE in terms of the twelve principles of joint operations.¹⁰⁵

Objective: Direct every military operation toward a clearly defined, decisive, and attainable objective. The objective of a stabilization effort is to achieve and maintain a workable political settlement among the host nation government, competing elites, and the wider population. This primacy of the political purpose applies at both a local and national level. Military operations, along with the application of other instruments of power, are integral to the unified actions required to shape and drive this political settlement.

The UNITAF mission was clearly defined, limited in scope and duration, and attainable. General Johnston and Ambassador Oakley understood the strategic aim, set appropriate objectives, and ensured unity of effort in their area of operations. They recognized what specific conditions and circumstances would result in mission success, and those that would lead to mission failure. Operation RESTORE HOPE did not meet the long-term objectives of the U.N. Secretary-General, but the United States never intended to meet them. The operation established the conditions for UNOSOM II to achieve the U.N. strategic objectives,

but those objectives proved to be unattainable at a cost the United States and its coalition partners were willing to pay. President Clinton's decision to discontinue major U.S. participation in UNOSOM II led to its failure and termination.

Offensive: Seize, retain, and exploit the initiative. Failing to act quickly to gain and maintain the initiative in stabilization efforts may create opportunities for enemies or adversaries to foment dissent and organize resistance.

UNITAF seized the initiative by rapidly deploying a large combat-capable force, establishing a lodgment area in the capital city and major port of Mogadishu, and then moving into the interior to secure the major relief distribution centers. When a Somali faction challenged UNITAF in Mogadishu or Kismayo, UNITAF responded rapidly and decisively.

The U.N. subsequently lost the initiative when it deployed fewer and less capable military forces to relieve the U.S. forces as part of UNOSOM II. Furthermore, the UNOSOM II troops did not act aggressively enough to deter or neutralize challenges from General Aidid and his allies.

Mass: Concentrate the effects of combat power at the decisive time and place. Mass matters in stability operations, particularly when they are conducted in a hostile environment (e.g., during a major operation or in counterinsurgency). Deploying a stability force that has the capability to satisfy the concurrent requirements to protect the population and neutralize hostile groups is a major planning consideration. The level of violence or humanitarian need may require the joint force to conduct a broad range of stability operations functions beyond providing civil security.¹⁰⁶ Insufficient mass will often result in loss of the initiative.

UNITAF deployed with sufficient mass to ensure the unimpeded delivery and distribution of humanitarian relief supplies. The threat and use of overwhelming combat power demonstrated UNITAF resolve and commitment, deterred the militias of the Somali factions, suppressed armed banditry, and supported UNITAF political-military interactions with the warlords in ways that promoted security.

Economy of Force: Allocate minimum essential combat power to secondary efforts in order to allocate the maximum possible combat power on primary efforts. Personnel should not presume that stability operations are “secondary” efforts, particularly during major operations and campaigns or even within the context of theater strategic planning efforts. On the contrary, joint force commanders should consider stability operations across all phases of a joint operation, applying appropriate combat power to support conflict transformation and tying joint operations to the political objectives.

Within the USCENTCOM area of responsibility, Somalia was a secondary effort. The United States had higher priority interests in Iraq, the Persian Gulf, and the Levant. However, the U.S.-led coalition in Somalia provided appropriate combat power to UNITAF. The military contributions of the 23 participating member states varied widely in capability, but General Johnston achieved economy of force by assigning his most capable forces to his primary efforts in Mogadishu and Kismayo and dispatching his less capable forces to secondary efforts. However, the United States did not allocate sufficient combat power to the U.S. QRF in support of UNOSOM when USCENTCOM established the QRF using lightly armed 10th Mountain Division troops with no armored vehicles.

Maneuver: Place the enemy in a position of disadvantage through the flexible application of combat power. Maneuver is the movement of forces in the operational area in combination with fires to achieve or retain a position of advantage in respect to the enemy.

UNITAF gained positional advantage over the Somali factions by occupying the major relief distribution centers and then employing checkpoints, patrols, and raids to restore order to the area of operations. These efforts helped to keep the militias off balance and ensure the unimpeded delivery and distribution of humanitarian relief supplies.

Unity of Command: Seek unity of effort in every operation. Unity of command means that all forces operate under a single commander with the requisite authority to direct all forces employed in pursuit of a common purpose. The risks inherent in the employment of the armed forces requires that the military chain of command remain inviolate. Additionally, unity of command helps ensure that offense, defense, and stability operations drive toward common objectives. Stability operations must be closely coordinated with appropriate interagency authorities—as well as host nation and other partner nation representatives; in many cases, the joint force commander will be supporting non-Defense USG departments/agencies and international partners. Coordination arrangements among military and civilian government agencies, intergovernmental organizations, NGOs, and other organizations will often be informal, relying largely on personal relationships and trust built over time. In some cases, de-confliction may be the only achievable arrangement with some actors in the environment.

In complex stability operations, unity of command may be difficult to attain. In Operation RESTORE

HOPE, the U.S. chain of command remained intact because UNITAF was a U.S.-led coalition task force built around JTF Somalia. U.S. diplomatic and political efforts at the national level created the foundation on which USCENTCOM and UNITAF could operate effectively: *The United States established the mission objectives and coalition partners followed the U.S. lead.* As a result, the United States ensured that UNITAF had internal unity of command. In contrast, the U.N. violated the principle of unity of command by not giving General Johnston operational control of UNOSOM I, creating two separate multinational forces in Somalia: UNITAF and UNOSOM I.

General Johnston and Ambassador Oakley achieved unity of effort by defining their personal relationship as one of mutual support. They collaborated with each other seamlessly and integrated military, diplomatic, and humanitarian efforts in Somalia effectively. UNITAF established a civil-military operations center to coordinate its actions with the U.N. agencies and NGOs providing humanitarian relief in the UNITAF area of operations. UNITAF also established councils and committees of Somali elders and leaders at the national, regional, and local levels to allow Somalis to assume responsibility of their own governance and security, in close cooperation with UNITAF forces.

Security: Prevent the enemy from acquiring an unexpected advantage. In stability operations, security deals principally with the protection of the Joint Force, its partners, and potentially non-combatants in the area of operations. Threats may include virtually any person, element, or group hostile to U.S. and partner interests. Military commanders should be ready to counter activity that could bring significant harm to units or jeopardize mission accomplishment. They should not

believe that the non-hostile and humanitarian intent of their mission keeps them from danger. They should understand that the local population and its leadership may feel threatened by the presence of a foreign military force, even if its intentions are good. Military forces must be capable of transitioning rapidly from humanitarian activities to combat operations, should the need arise. The inherent right of self-defense from the unit to the individual level applies to all operations.

The rapid introduction of overwhelming military power provided General Johnston the resources he needed to provide security and enable humanitarian efforts in the UNITAF area of operations. UNITAF established checkpoints, conducted security patrols, established auxiliary security forces, and used force, or the threat of force, to compel compliance with its policies, thereby instilling a sense of security in the Somali people. UNITAF minimized violent actions against its forces through a combination of show of force operations, military presence operations, permissive rules of engagement, an effective psychological operations program, and adroit political-diplomatic engagement with the faction leaders. When attacked, the UNITAF response balanced strength and restraint.

Surprise: Strike at a time or place or in a manner for which the enemy is unprepared. Surprise creates a psychological advantage by shocking and paralyzing adversaries. Surprise can help the commander shift the balance of combat power and achieve success well out of proportion to the effort expended.

In peace operations, surprise may fuel the fears and suspicions of the local population and the warring parties. Transparency reduces these fears and suspicions, builds trust and confidence, and contributes to the legitimacy and

credibility of the stabilization force. General Johnston and Ambassador Oakley told the warring factions and the local populations in advance what actions UNITAF was going to take, when and where it was going to act, and why it was taking action. The overwhelming combat power of UNITAF allowed its leadership to forego surprise to advance the strategic purpose of the operation. There were obvious exceptions to this general policy. For example, UNITAF withheld information on the time and location of raids on suspected weapon caches. These tactical exceptions occurred within the framework of an overall UNITAF policy of transparency.

Simplicity: Increase the probability that plans and operations will be executed as intended by preparing clear, uncomplicated plans and concise orders. Simplicity contributes to successful operations. Simple plans and clear, concise orders minimize misunderstanding and confusion. The benefits of simplicity extend to task organization and command relationships. When other factors are equal, the simplest plan is preferable. Simplicity in plans allows better understanding and execution planning at all echelons. Simplicity and clarity of expression greatly facilitate mission execution in the stress, fatigue, fog of war, and complexity of modern combat, and are especially critical to success in multinational operations.

Stability operations are inherently complex. Nevertheless, UNITAF issued clear and concise orders, and employed sequential operations in Phase I and II to make them as uncomplicated as possible. General Johnston recognized that the UNITAF staff could not centralize the planning and execution of the operation, so he wisely established nine HRS, issued mission-type orders, and delegated to the sector commanders the

authority to adapt their operations and activities to the unique circumstances of each HRS.

Restraint: Apply appropriate military capability prudently. During stability operations, defending and protecting the population is paramount. A foundation of civil security is often a necessary precondition to achieve a political settlement of a conflict. The necessity of enabling local security, coupled with the need to protect the force and its partners, may require the conduct of offensive and defensive operations alongside stability operations. However, the use of force may antagonize the population, possibly damaging the legitimacy of the friendly forces campaign. *Restraint requires the careful and disciplined balancing of protecting the people and infrastructure, conducting military operations, and achieving the overarching objectives of the operation.* A single act can cause significant military and political consequences. Therefore, the use of force must be lawful and measured. A joint force best achieves restraint when all military personnel understand the political objectives and the potential impact of inappropriate actions. Commanders must develop rules of engagement that are sensitive to political concerns, consistent always with the right and obligation of self-defense.

UNITAF troops demonstrated excellent discipline in the face of Somali provocations. The rules of engagement were permissive, but instances involving the excessive use of force by UNITAF personnel were isolated and rare. The UNITAF weapons control policy balanced force protection with the legitimate security needs of the Somali people. When UNITAF did apply force against a Somali militia, the action was measured and appropriate to the situation.

Perseverance: Prepare for the measured, protracted application of military capability in support of strategic aims.

The stabilization of fragile states is, fundamentally, a protracted effort. The long-term focus of transformational stability activities and efforts to foster sustainability require a conviction among the local population that external support for their government will be sufficient and enduring. Perceptions of a half-hearted or transitory engagement by the part of the United States and partner nations will undermine the effort. Alternatively, there is the danger of creating a sense of permanence, amounting to dependency, and leading to a perception of the external forces as occupiers. With the need for this delicate balance in mind, military forces should conduct initial response activities to fill immediate gaps in assistance and enable civilian control of stabilization efforts. This may facilitate the early withdrawal of military forces, while preserving the long-term viability of international stabilization efforts. However, military forces should not cease their stabilization activities before other host nation institutions, particularly security forces, are prepared to assume responsibility.

Peace enforcement operations may require years to achieve national reconciliation and a political settlement. The underlying causes of a civil war rarely have a clear beginning or a decisive resolution. The patient, resolute, and persistent pursuit of strategic objectives, for as long as necessary to achieve them, is often the requirement for success.

The UNITAF mission was limited in scope and short in duration. From the U.N. perspective, it was the initial phase of an extended campaign to save Somalia from civil war. However, the United States decided not to participate in the long-term, open-ended U.N. campaign, which proved to be beyond the capacity of the U.N. without major participation

by U.S. combat forces. The withdrawal of U.S. combat forces from Somalia emboldened the faction leaders, especially General Aidid. The premature transition of responsibility from UNITAF to UNOSOM II, before the latter was prepared to assume its responsibilities, aggravated this problem.

Legitimacy: Sustain the legitimacy of the operation and of the host government. The credibility of the host nation government and its ability to generate consent is crucial. The population's attitude toward U.S. or multinational forces may be a significant element in this but, ultimately, is of secondary importance. The sentiment towards the U.S. forces conducting stability operations will encompass a spectrum of attitudes and vary from active opposition, through grudging tolerance, to active support. The actions of the United States and its partner nations must convince the majority of the population and wider audiences, including adversaries, that the host nation government will prevail and that the belligerent parties can reach an acceptable political settlement.

Legitimacy is the willing acceptance by the people of the right of the government to govern or of a group or agency to make and carry out decisions. In the case of Operation RESTORE HOPE, there was no host nation central government. Security Council Resolution 794 authorized UNITAF and provided international legitimacy to its presence and operations in Somalia. UNITAF "broadened and extended its claim to legitimacy by its conduct."¹⁰⁷ Its restraint and neutrality in the Somali civil war were major factors in sustaining its legitimacy with the Somali people and the international community.

Peace Enforcement Operations

Peace enforcement operations, where there is limited or no consent of the warring parties to end hostilities, rely on the threat or use of force to compel the parties to stop fighting and pursue a peaceful settlement of their differences. Therefore, peace enforcement operations require well-trained, disciplined, and combat-capable military forces with effective command and control, a refined decision-making process, and adequate sustainment.¹⁰⁸ UNITAF was successful because it threatened the warring factions with the use of overwhelming force if they did not comply with U.N. Security Council resolutions. With notable exceptions, UNITAF deterred the warlords from openly fighting each other. In contrast to the U.S.-led UNITAF, the UNOSOM II did not have the capability to plan, coordinate, organize, or conduct peace enforcement operations. The warlords waited for UNITAF to leave, tested UNOSOM II, and proved it incapable of enforcing the peace imposed by UNITAF. The U.N. has no standing military forces to respond rapidly and decisively to a threat to international peace and security under Article VII of the U.N. Charter. The U.N. has no equivalent of the U.S. Joint Staff or a U.S. combatant command. The U.N. should entrust peace enforcement operations to a lead nation at the head of a coalition of willing and able nations, or to a regional organization with effective military forces, and provide them the legitimacy of a U.N. Security Council resolution.

Political-Diplomatic-Military Cooperation

In an interview with Marine historian Colonel Dennis Mroczkowski, General Johnston noted. “I suppose if there is a blueprint for how the diplomatic and political side should work with the military on an operation like this, [Operation RESTORE HOPE] was it.”¹⁰⁹ President Bush and his NSC provided clear, unambiguous, and realistic strategic guidance and policy to military forces in the field. Generals Powell and Hoar provided sage military advice to the President and his cabinet secretaries and other NSC officials, who were wise enough to incorporate that advice into national security policy and strategy. General Johnston and Ambassador Oakley established a high standard for collaboration to achieve unified action at the operational level. The new and inexperienced Clinton Administration changed President Bush’s foreign policy and regional strategy for Somalia based on a more optimistic assessment of the U.N. capability to conduct peace enforcement operations. President Clinton minimized U.S. participation in the follow-on UNOSOM II. Unwilling to pay the human and financial costs associated with achieving an enduring political outcome in Somalia, he withdrew entirely after the battle of Mogadishu, leading to U.N. failure and the resumption of civil war.

Transitional Governance versus Nation-Building

Nation building was not a UNITAF mission, and it proved to be an unrealistic assignment for UNOSOM II. *In any situation characterized by civil war and the destruction of civil institutions and infrastructures, military forces will have to address the governance and reconstruc-*

tion challenges in their area of operations. In Somalia, UNITAF used a “bottom up” approach by encouraging and enabling local Somali elders and leaders to take responsibility for their own governance and security. Although U.S. law prohibits U.S. forces from training foreign police forces without a Presidential directive or Congressional authorization, UNITAF helped establish local auxiliary security forces composed of former Somali police officers. In Operation RESTORE HOPE, this “bottom up” approach was effective in reconstituting local civil institutions and infrastructures. The U.N. “top down” approach focused more on creating a central government and national civil institutions before the warring parties were ready to accept national reconciliation and a political settlement. Both the “top down” and “bottom up” approaches can draw the Joint Force into the internal affairs of a country, creating the potential for unnecessary friction with the civil population and its leaders. In Somalia, the “bottom up” approach moved at the pace of the host nation populace, who perceived the “top down” approach to be an external imposition linked to external goals, not an effort focused on the readiness of the Somalis to move forward toward a long-term solution.

“Mission Creep”

The UNITAF mission was clearly defined, limited in scope and duration, and attainable. The Bush Administration considered the broader strategic objectives of the U.N., and steadfastly refused to disarm the factions forcibly, take sides in the civil war, extend operations into northern Somalia, or rebuild the country. In retrospect, the Somali civil war might have ended

years sooner if the United States had agreed to an extension of the UNITAF mandate and greater support for U.N. efforts to achieve Somali national reconciliation and a political settlement, while continuing the “bottom up” approach to establishing security and restoring Somali civil society. However, the Clinton Administration did not commit to an open-ended nation-building mission in Somalia. Instead, the United States withdrew its ground combat troops (except for a QRF) and provided limited military support to UNOSOM II, to which the U.N. Security Council assigned a predictably unrealistic mission with inadequate resources to accomplish it. UNOSOM II was unprepared to force the Somali factions to disarm, or to take sides and fight in the civil war. General Aidid, no longer deterred by U.S. ground combat power, attacked the Pakistanis who relieved the U.S. Marines in Mogadishu. This attack forced UNOSOM II to take sides in the civil war, fatally undermining its neutral status. When the United States withdrew its support for U.N. operations against General Aidid, UNOSOM II failed.

The Political Impact of U.N. Failure

The political impact of the U.N. failure in Somalia was significant. It was a major factor in President Clinton’s decision not to intervene in the genocidal Rwandan civil war. The failure influenced his decision to intervene in Haiti with a U.S.-led coalition under U.N. auspices. The failure also shaped his eventual decision to intervene in Bosnia and Kosovo with a NATO-led coalition. Allies and adversaries alike, including al Qaeda, perceived the U.N. failure in Somalia as a failure of U.S. will and resolve.

Conclusion

Every military operation is unique. Nevertheless, Operation RESTORE HOPE deserves study as an example of how to conduct a complex joint, interagency, intergovernmental, and multinational stability operation to achieve limited objectives. The operation embodied the current principles of joint operations even before the Joint Force codified them. UNITAF demonstrated how the introduction of overwhelming combat power, and its measured use, could dramatically change the conditions in a failed or failing state. The operation set a high standard for political-diplomatic-military-humanitarian cooperation and unity of effort. A study of the operation suggests that a “bottom up” approach to restoring civil institutions and infrastructures may be more effective in the short term and an excellent complement to a “top down” approach focused on restoring a central government. The operation highlighted the inability of the U.N. to lead a peace enforcement operation without a capable lead nation.

In this era of persistent armed conflict and protracted stability challenges, national security professionals can learn many important lessons by studying Operation RESTORE HOPE in detail. As a starting point for learning from this operation, below is a list of best practices derived from this study,

Operation RESTORE HOPE

Best Practices for Peace Enforcement

Strategic Guidance

- Conduct peace enforcement operations under U.N. auspices, but with a multinational and combat-capable coalition force led by the United States or another lead nation.
- Negotiate with the U.N. or regional security organization to reach agreement on a mission statement and strategic approach that is feasible, suitable, acceptable, and measurable.
- Clearly state the mission, define the political objectives, and identify limitations on the joint force commander's freedom of action.
- Authorize the joint force commander to take whatever military actions are necessary to accomplish the mission and establish the military conditions necessary to begin the process of national reconciliation and achieve a peaceful political settlement of the differences among the warring factions.
- Provide the joint force commander sufficient authorities and resources to accomplish the mission, including the authority to organize, train, and equip local police and other security forces.
- Appoint a special envoy of ambassadorial rank to be the counterpart of the joint force commander, orchestrate U.S. government efforts in the area of operations, and assist the military leadership with political and diplomatic issues.
- Explain the military intervention to the American people and the international community, and keep them informed as the operation progresses.

Planning and Preparation

- Establish the joint force around the nucleus of a combat-capable standing service headquarters (i.e., Army corps or Marine expeditionary force).
- Augment the joint force headquarters with the best available personnel.
- Understand the human aspects of the operational environment, the root causes of the armed conflict, and the strategic objectives of the warring factions.
- Plan concurrently and make use of warning orders to reduce the time required to deploy.
- Establish permissive rules of engagement.
- Develop measures of performance and effectiveness for assessment of the operation.

Operational Employment

- Intervene rapidly and with overwhelming combat power to intimidate warring factions into compliance with the U.N. or regional security organization mandate.
- Engage faction leaders at all levels and develop joint proclamations to ensure the indigenous population and other actors understand that the parties agree on a shared approach to de-escalate the conflict and promote stability.
- Take necessary actions (establishing outposts, conducting security patrols, implementing population and resource control measures, conducting searches and seizures, physically separating warring factions, etc.) to establish a secure environment and protect coalition and indigenous lives.

- Issue broad mission guidance to subordinate area commanders and trust them to adapt to the unique operational environment in their areas of operations.
- Use force only when necessary, and measure its use to compel compliance, without appearing to take sides in the armed conflict.
- Integrate information operations into all actions in the physical domains.
- Restore and foster local governance as soon as possible after the initial operations to reestablish order and create a secure environment.
- Reconstitute local police and security forces to return responsibility for law enforcement to the indigenous population as soon as possible.
- Establish a joint force civil-military operations center and place civil affairs teams with all subordinate area commanders.

Transition

- Plan for a deliberate and event-driven transfer of responsibility for the area of operations to another legitimate and competent authority.
- Stagger the departure of units and staff members to preserve situational awareness and the continuity of operations.
- Do not transfer responsibility until the new authority is fully capable of performing the mission.

Appendix A: Glossary of Terms and Abbreviations

Terms

Coordinating authority – A commander or individual who has the authority to require consultation between the specific functions or activities involving forces of two or more Services, joint force components, or forces of the same Service or agencies, but does not have the authority to compel agreement. (JP 1-02)

Operational control – The authority to perform those functions of command over subordinate forces involving organizing and employing commands and forces, assigning tasks, designating objectives, and giving authoritative direction necessary to accomplish the mission. (JP 1-02)

Peacebuilding – (1) Stability actions, predominately diplomatic and economic, that strengthen and rebuild governmental infrastructure and institutions in order to avoid a relapse into conflict. (JP 1-02)

Peace enforcement – (1) Application of military force, or the threat of its use, normally pursuant to international authorization, to compel compliance with resolutions or sanctions designed to maintain or restore peace and order. (JP 1-02)

Peacekeeping – (1) Military operations undertaken with the consent of all major parties to a dispute, designed to monitor and facilitate implementation of an agreement (ceasefire, truce, or other such agreement)

and support diplomatic efforts to reach a long-term political settlement. (JP 1-02)

Peacemaking - (1) The process of diplomacy, mediation, negotiation, or other forms of peaceful settlements that arranges an end to a dispute and resolves issues that led to it. (JP 1-02)

Permissive environment - Operational environment in which host country military and law enforcement agencies have control as well as the intent and capability to assist operations that a unit intends to conduct. (JP 1-02)

Tactical control - The authority over forces that is limited to the detailed direction and control of movements or maneuvers within the operational area necessary to accomplish missions or tasks assigned. (JP 1-02)

Abbreviations

AFFOR	Air Force Forces
ARFOR	Army Forces
ARG	Amphibious Ready Group
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CJCS	Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff
DoD	Department of Defense
FSSG	Force Service Support Group
HRS	Humanitarian Relief Sector
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
JPME	Joint Professional Military Education
JPOTF	Joint Psychological Operations Task Force
JSOFOR	Joint Special Operations Forces
JTF	Joint Task Force
LAS	League of Arab States
MARFOR	Marine Forces
MEF	Marine Expeditionary Force
MEU	Marine Expeditionary Unit
MPS	Maritime Prepositioning Squadron
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NAVFOR	Naval Forces
NEO	non-combatant evacuation operation
NGO	non-governmental organization
NSC	National Security Council
OAU	Organization of African Unity

OIC	Organization of the Islamic Conference
PCC	Policy Coordination Committee
PKSOI	U.S. Army Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Institute
QRF	Quick Reaction Force
ROE	Rules of Engagement
SAMO	Somali Africans Muki Organization
SDA	Somali Democratic Alliance
SDM	Somali Democratic Movement
SEAL	Sea-Air-Land (Naval Special Operations Unit)
SNA	Somali National Alliance
SNDU	Somali National Democratic Union
SNF	Somali National Front
SNM	Somali National Movement
SNU	Somali National Union
SOCCENT	Special Operations Command, Central Command
SOF	Special Operations Forces
SPM	Somali Patriotic Movement
SSDF	Somali Salvation Democratic Front
SSNM	Southern Somali National Movement
STANAG	Standard North Atlantic Treaty Organization Agreement
SWCS	U.S. Army John F. Kennedy Special Warfare Center and School
U.N.	United Nations
UNITAF	Unified Task Force

UNOSOM	United Nations Operation in Somalia
U.S.	United States
USA	U.S. Army
USAF	U.S. Air Force
USAID	U.S. Agency for International Development
USC	United Somali Congress
USF	United Somali Front
USMC	U.S. Marine Corps
USMCR	U.S. Marine Corps Reserve
USN	U.S. Navy
USP	United Somali Party
USCENTCOM	U.S. Central Command
USCINCCENT	Commander-in-Chief, U.S. Central Command

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Appendix C: Somalia Chronology

July 1, 1960	British Somaliland and Italian Somaliland unify to establish the independent Somali Republic.
October 15, 1969	President Abdirashid Ali Shermarke was assassinated, apparently over a clan grievance.
October 21, 1969	Major General Mohammed Siad Barre seizes power in a bloodless coup and assumes leadership as dictator of the country, which he renames as the Somali Democratic Republic.
July 13, 1977 – March 15, 1978	Somalia's unsuccessful invasion of the disputed Ogaden region of Ethiopia.
May 23, 1986	General Barre is injured in an automobile accident, after which rivals within his government and insurgent groups in northern Somalia enter into open rebellion.
January 5, 1991	U.S. Central Command (USCENTCOM) conducts Operation EASTERN EXIT to evacuate American Embassy personnel from the Somali capital city of Mogadishu.
January 27, 1991	Dictator Siad Barre flees Mogadishu as various rebel factions, primarily the United Somalia Congress (USC) led by the powerful warlord General Mohamed Farrah Aidid, Chairman of the USC, takes control of the Somali capital.

May 18, 1991	Northwestern Somalia, under the control of the Somali National Movement (SNM), secedes from Somalia and declares itself the independent Republic of Somaliland, the successor state to the former British Somaliland.
June 5-11, 1991	An international conference on Somali national reconciliation held in Djibouti selects USC politician Ali Mahdi Mohammed as Interim President of Somalia, but General Aidid and the other factions do not rally behind his presidency. The USC fractures into two factions led by Interim President Mahdi and General Aidid.
January 1, 1992	Boutros Boutros-Ghali, former Egyptian Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, becomes U.N. Secretary-General.
January 23, 1992	U.N. Security Council adopts Resolution 733, urging all parties to the Somali conflict to cease hostilities, and calling on all states to implement an immediate arms embargo on Somalia.
March 3, 1992	Interim President Mahdi and General Aidid agree on the implementation of a ceasefire monitored by 20 U.N. military observers, and the deployment of a U.N. military unit to provide security for the humanitarian relief effort.

April 24, 1992	U.N. Security Council adopts Resolution 751, establishing a United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM) as a Chapter VI U.N. peacekeeping mission to monitor the recent ceasefire and provide security for delivery and distribution of the humanitarian relief supplies in Somalia.
April 29, 1992	The USC forces of General Aidid force former dictator Siad Barre into exile in Nairobi, Kenya.
May 17, 1992	Former dictator Siad Barre moved under pressure to Lagos, Nigeria, where he was granted political asylum.
July 23, 1992	The U.N. Chief Military Observer, Brigadier General Imtiaz Shaheen (Pakistan), and 45 unarmed UNOSOM military observers arrived in Mogadishu.
July 27, 1992	U.N. Security Council adopts Resolution 767, urging all Somali factions to facilitate U.N. efforts to provide humanitarian assistance to the affected populations in Somalia.
August 16, 1992	USCENTCOM begins Operation PROVIDE RELIEF to airlift emergency relief supplies into Somalia in support of UNOSOM.
August 28, 1992	U.N. Security Council adopts Resolution 775, authorizing the increase of 3,000 troops in the strength of UNOSOM to protect humanitarian convoys and distribution centers throughout Somalia.

September 14, 1992	The first UNOSOM security unit arrives in Mogadishu by U.S. airlift, six months after Mahdi and Aidid agreed to accept their deployment to provide security for the humanitarian relief effort.
November 3, 1992	Ismat Kittani (Iraq) appointed as U.N. Special Representative for Somalia.
November 25, 1992	President George Bush decides to intervene in Somalia with a division-size U.S.-led coalition force under U.N. auspices.
December 3, 1992	U.N. Security Council adopts Resolution 794, authorizing a Chapter VII U.N. peace enforcement mission to establish a secure environment for humanitarian relief operations in Somalia.
December 4, 1992	President Bush publicly announces that U.S. ground troops will enter Somalia under U.N. auspices to conduct a limited humanitarian operation named Operation RESTORE HOPE. He also authorized USCENTCOM to take whatever military action was necessary to safeguard American and Somali lives.
December 9, 1992	15th Marine Expeditionary Unit (MEU) launches from <i>Tripoli</i> Amphibious Ready Group and occupies Mogadishu unopposed to initiate Operation RESTORE HOPE. Lead elements of the French 9th Marine Infantry Division arrived in Mogadishu from Djibouti.

December 10, 1992	<p>General Robert B. Johnston, commanding JTF Somalia, arrives in Mogadishu and establishes the Unified Task Force (UNITAF) headquarters at the former U.S. Embassy compound.</p>
December 11, 1992	<p>Major General Charles E. Wilhelm, commanding Marine Forces (MARFOR) Somalia, arrives in Mogadishu, initially takes operational control of all U.S. and coalition ground forces. The 1st Marine Division assumes responsibility for the Mogadishu sector. Interim President Mahdi and General Aidid sign a formal ceasefire agreement and accept the UNITAF weapons control policy. U.N. Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali invites 11 Somali faction leaders to a preparatory meeting for a conference of national reconciliation.</p>
December 13, 1992	<p>The 2nd Battalion, 9th Marines, conducts heliborne assault to secure Bale Dogle airfield, 98 kilometers northwest of Mogadishu. First Army units, elements of the 2nd Battalion, 87th Infantry, airland at Bale Dogle. The Belgian 1st Parachute Battalion and lead elements of the Italian Folgore Airborne Brigade arrive in Mogadishu.</p>
December 14, 1992	<p>The Canadian Airborne Regiment Battle Group arrives at Bale Dogle.</p>
December 15, 1992	<p>2nd Brigade, 10th Mountain Division assumes responsibility for Bale Dogle sector.</p>

December 16, 1992	<p>Task Force Hope, composed of elements of the 15th MEU and French forces, secures the airfield at Baidoa. The 1st Marine Division assumes responsibility for the sector. Phase I of Operation RESTORE HOPE is complete.</p>
December 20, 1992	<p>Elements of the 15th MEU and Belgian 1st Parachute Battalion make an unopposed amphibious landing at Kismayo and secure the seaport and airport, with the Belgians assuming responsibility for the sector the next day. The first truck convoy in more than a month reaches the starving inland town of Baidoa.</p>
December 21, 1992	<p>A mine near Bardera kills Lawrence N. Freedman, a U.S. government civilian employee and retired U.S. Army Special Forces sergeant major. Mr. Freedman is the first of 100 peacekeepers to die in the performance of duty in Somalia.</p>
December 24, 1992	<p>A mechanized task force of the 7th Marines secures Bardera and assumes responsibility for the sector.</p>
December 25, 1992	<p>A combined French-U.S. task force secures Oddur. The French contingent assumes responsibility for the sector on December 29.</p>
December 27, 1992	<p>The Italian Folgore Brigade secures Gialassi, assuming responsibility for the sector the next day. The 3rd Battalion, 9th Marines, relieves the 15th MEU of responsibility for the Baidoa sector.</p>

December 28, 1992	<p>The Canadian Airborne Regiment Battle Group secures Belet Weyne airfield in the last of the originally planned relief sectors. A combined U.S.-Italian task force secures the Merka seaport and airfield. The 2nd Brigade, 10th Mountain Division, assumes responsibility for the new sector. General Aidid and Interim President Mahdi agree to dismantle the "green line" dividing Mogadishu.</p>
December 30, 1992	<p>The Canadian Airborne Regiment Battle Group assumes responsibility for the Belet Weyne sector. Phase II of Operation RESTORE HOPE is complete.</p>
December 31, 1992	<p>President Bush arrives in Mogadishu, visiting units in the city and aboard ship.</p>
January 1, 1993	<p>President Bush visits units in Baidoa and Bale Dogle.</p>
January 4-15, 1993	<p>U.N. convenes informal meeting at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, to prepare for national reconciliation conference; 14 Somali political factions participated and signed three formal agreements on a national reconciliation conference convening at Addis Ababa on March 15, an immediate ceasefire, cessation of hostile propaganda, cooperation with the international relief effort, the free movement of the Somali people, and voluntary disarmament.</p>

January 6-7, 1993	<p>Members of General Aidid's faction at two authorized weapons storage sites fire on a UNITAF convoy traveling through Mogadishu. A U.S. Marine task force surrounds the two storage sites. The next morning, the Marines attack to seize the sites and confiscate all the weapons and equipment located in them.</p>
January 12, 1993	<p>Private First Class Domingo Arroyo, a field wireman with the 11th Marines, is killed by small arms fire when his security patrol was ambushed near the Mogadishu airport. He was the first uniformed member of UNITAF to die in Somalia.</p>
January 15, 1993	<p>UNITAF begins Phase I of the U.S. redeployment, reducing MARFOR and ARFOR to reinforced brigades by February 5. JTF Support Command assumes responsibility for logistical support of residual forces.</p>
January 16, 1993	<p>The 10th Mountain Division relieves the 1st Marine Division from responsibility for the Baidoa sector.</p>
January 19, 1993	<p>The 1st Battalion Group, The Royal Australian Regiment, relieves the 10th Mountain Division from responsibility for the Baidoa sector.</p>
January 20, 1993	<p>President Clinton takes office.</p>

January 24, 1993	<p>The Somali National Front (SNF) forces of Mohammed Said Hirsi ("General Morgan") attacks the Somali Patriotic Movement (SPM) forces of Colonel Ahmed Omar Jess at Bir Xanni, 35 kilometers from Kismayo. When General Morgan ignores two UNITAF warnings, Task Force Kismayo attack helicopters engage the SNF forces, which return fire and withdraw.</p>
January 30, 1993	<p>A 3,000-member Somali auxiliary security force operates from 14 stations around Mogadishu to provide much-needed security to the Somali people.</p>
February 6, 1993	<p>UNITAF begins Phase II of the U.S. redeployment.</p>
February 21, 1993	<p>UNITAF begins Phase III of the U.S. redeployment, reducing MARFOR and ARFOR to understrength brigades by March 5.</p>
February 22-26, 1993	<p>General Morgan's SNF forces attacks Colonel Jess' SPM forces in a fight for control of Kismayo. UNITAF Task Force Kismayo forces General Morgan to withdraw his forces to avoid a UNITAF attack. General Aidid accuses UNITAF of cooperating with General Morgan in the attack, and thousands of his followers riot in Mogadishu until U.S. Marines restore order.</p>
March 1, 1993	<p>The Moroccan 3rd Motorized Infantry Regiment relieves the 10th Mountain Division from responsibility for the Bale Dogle sector.</p>

March 2, 1993	Ambassador Robert Oakley departed Somalia.
March 5, 1993	The Belgian 1st Parachute Battalion relieves the 10th Mountain Division from responsibility for the Kismayo sector.
March 9, 1993	Major General Thomas M. Montgomery (USA) arrives in Mogadishu to become Commander, U.S. Forces Somalia, and Deputy Force Commander, UNOSOM II. Admiral Jonathan T. Howe (USN, Retired), replaced Ismat Kittani (Iraq) as U.N. Special Representative for Somalia.
March 11, 1993	The 10th Mountain Division main command post and Task Force Kismayo redeploy to the United States.
March 15, 1993	Lieutenant General Cevik Bir, Turkish Army, arrives in Mogadishu to take command of UNOSOM II. UNOSOM II staff members begin to integrate into the UNITAF operations center.
March 15-27, 1993	U.N. convenes national reconciliation conference at Addis Ababa; 14 Somali political factions (but not the secessionist SNM in northwestern Somalia) commit to ending the civil war and peacefully reconciling their differences in a two-year transition period.

March 16-31, 1993	General Morgan's SNF forces attack to seize Kismayo. UNITAF commits its Quick Reaction Force (QRF) and the 24th MEU lands at Kismayo on March 25 to reinforce the Belgians. UNITAF restores order in the city and sector by the end of the month.
March 26, 1993	U.N. Security Council adopts Resolution 814, expanding the size and mandate of UNOSOM II under Chapter VII (peace enforcement) of the U.N. Charter through October 31, 1993. The Pakistani UNOSOM II force relieves MARFOR from responsibility for the Mogadishu sector.
March 30. 1993	The advance party of the 1st Brigade, 10th Mountain Division, arrives in Mogadishu to relieve the 2nd Brigade.
April 5, 1993	Chairman Powell meets with Generals Bir and Johnston who inform him that the transfer of authority from UNITAF to UNOSOM II could occur by the end of May.
April 9, 1993	The 1st Brigade, 10th Mountain Division, assumes full responsibility for ARFOR operations, the UNITAF QRF, and the Merka sector.
April 18, 1993	The Botswanan UNOSOM II force relieves MARFOR from responsibility for the Bardera sector.
April 22, 1993	Generals Bir and Johnston agree to turnover date on May 4.

April 28, 1993	The Pakistani UNOSOM II forces relieves the 1st Brigade, 10th Mountain Division, from responsibility for the Merka sector.
May 4, 1993	Lieutenant General Johnston transfers responsibility for U.N. military operations in Somalia to Lieutenant General Bir. General Johnston and the last of UNITAF headquarters staff depart Somalia.
May 6-7, 1993	Colonel Jess attempts to retake Kismayo and clashes with Belgian forces for two days.
May 19, 1993	President Clinton issues Presidential Decision Directive 6, approving participation of 4,000 U.S. support troops under the operational control of UNOSOM II, the number reducing to 1,400 by January 1994; retention in Somalia of a QRF under the operational control of USCENTCOM; and support of U.N. programs to collect heavy weapons and help create a professional Somali police force.
June 5, 1993	General Aidid's forces attack a Pakistani unit in Mogadishu, killing 24 and wounding 57 Pakistani troops.

June 6, 1993	U.N. Security Council adopts Resolution 837, strongly condemning the unprovoked attack on the Pakistani troops and reaffirming that the Secretary-General was authorized to take all necessary measures against those responsible for the attack, including their arrest and detention for prosecution, trial and punishment.
June 17, 1993	U.N. Special Envoy Jonathan Howe issued an arrest order for General Aidid and announced a \$25 million reward for his capture.
June 29, 1993	UNITAF is awarded the Joint Meritorious Unit Award.
October 3, 1993	U.S. Task Force Ranger conducts a daylight raid to capture General Aidid, resulting in 15 hours of fighting with his forces. U.S. causalities from the attack include 18 killed and 84 wounded. Somali casualties consist of 312 killed and 814 wounded.
October 7, 1993	President Clinton announced his decision to withdraw all U.S. forces from Somalia by March 31, 1994. Other nations follow the U.S. lead.
November 4, 1994	U.N. Security Council adopts Resolution 954, terminating UNOSOM II on March 31, 1995.
January 9 to March 3, 1995	USCENTCOM conducts Operation UNITED SHIELD, a U.S.-led multinational military operation that safely evacuates all UNOSOM II troops from Somalia.

September 19, 1995	The United States closes its Liaison Office in Mogadishu.
April to October 2004	The Somali political factions establish the Transitional Federal Institutions of Somalia.
August 20, 2012	The Somali political factions establish the Federal Government of Somalia, finally ending the Somali civil war.

Appendix D: Key Actors

U.S. Government Key Actors

President George H. W. Bush: Given the media coverage of suffering in Somalia and fresh from the triumph in Operation DESERT STORM, President Bush felt he could not ignore the situation in Somalia. He initially used U.S. forces to airlift humanitarian aid to Somalia in Operation PROVIDE RELIEF, but the operation was unsuccessful because the Somali factions looted relief supplies as soon as they arrived in the country. He decided that a prompt commitment of U.S. ground troops was necessary to establish a secure environment for the relief effort. He ordered American troops to conduct Operation RESTORE HOPE as a U.S.-led multinational peace enforcement operation under U.N. auspices to ensure that relief supplies reached the people who needed them and thus to break the famine and save lives. President Bush steadfastly refused to accept the broader missions of peacebuilding and peacemaking, which he left to the follow-on U.N.-led effort.

President Bill Clinton: President Clinton supported President Bush's Somali policies, but he was unwilling to play a major part in UNOSOM II. President Clinton wanted a quick transition from UNITAF to UNOSOM II. He agreed to contribute 4,000 U.S. support troops to UNOSOM II through August 1993, with the number reducing to 1,400 by January 31, 1994. He also agreed to provide a U.S. Quick Reaction Force under USCENTCOM operational control. After the battle in Mogadishu on October 3, 1993, President Clinton

decided to withdraw all U.S. forces from Somalia by March 1994.

General Colin L. Powell (USA): As Chairman of the Joint Chief of Staff, General Powell was initially reluctant to commit U.S. military forces to Somalia. Once President Bush made the decision to intervene, General Powell recommended a large-scale ground intervention with a division-size U.S.-led coalition force under U.N. auspices. He opposed directing the U.S. force commander to focus only on the humanitarian relief mission and leave political issues to the U.N. He argued successfully that no such distinction was possible because U.S. troops could not perform the relief mission without challenging the warlords, destabilizing the political situation, and pursuing structural political changes. Because humanitarian, political and security goals were so interdependent, he advocated for an integrated U.S. and U.N. policy whereby progress would occur concurrently.

General Joseph P. Hoar (USMC): As the Commander-in-Chief of U.S. Central Command, General Hoar recommended commitment of a division-size force to secure Mogadishu, later expanding the operation to Kismayo and into the interior. General Hoar feared “mission creep” and wanted to remain focused on the humanitarian mission. Once UNITAF had accomplished its limited mission by the end of January 1993, he recommended a quick transfer of responsibility from the U.S.-led UNITAF to the U.N.-led UNOSOM II.

Ambassador Robert Oakley: Chairman Powell recommended to President Bush that retired Ambassador Oakley be recalled to active service as the Presi-

dent's Special Envoy to Somalia. Ambassador Oakley was Ambassador to Somalia in 1983-84. In 1987-88, he worked under General Powell on the National Security Council Staff as Director for Middle East and South Asian Affairs. The Chairman saw Oakley as a man who could harmonize the Department of Defense's concerns with the incoming administration's objectives. Indeed, Oakley critically established a cease-fire between the warring factions as a precondition to launching UNITAF operations in the interior of the country. Oakley later warned the Department of State that problems resulting from the absence of a police force were "rapidly reaching crisis proportions" and that U.N. political and relief structures outside Mogadishu lay "in a state of catastrophic weakness and disorganization."¹¹⁰ Without a strong U.N. presence in the field, he warned, efforts to rebuild Somalia would collapse when the troops departed. The new Clinton administration, however, proved slow in recognizing that U.N. weaknesses were endangering the long-term mission.

United Nations Key Actors

Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali (Egypt): Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali was a major catalyst in transitioning UNOSOM I to UNITAF. He recommended to the U.N. Security Council that the United States lead a peace enforcement operation of limited duration to ensure the delivery and distribution of relief supplies in Somalia, and create the conditions necessary for a return to peacekeeping and peacebuilding. Boutros-Ghali determined that the U.N. was already overstretched by UNOSOM I, and could not exercise command and control over a large-scale military operation. Boutros-

Ghali believed it was essential that the purpose of intervention should be to create a secure environment throughout Somalia by disarming the militias of the warring factions, but President Bush limited the UNITAF area of operations to the hardest-hit areas in southern and central Somalia.

Mr. Ismat Kittani (Iraq): As U.N. Special Representative for Somalia, Ismat Kittani reported on November 16, 1992, that humanitarian supplies had become the basis of an otherwise non-existent economy and that the warring factions were extorting large sums from private relief agencies so that perhaps no more than twenty percent of relief supplies actually reached needy Somalis.

Unified Task Force (UNITAF) Key Actors

Lieutenant General Robert B. Johnson (USMC): The Commanding General of I Marine Expeditionary Force, General Johnston commanded Joint Task Force (JTF) Somalia and UNITAF. He commanded a Marine battalion in Lebanon in 1982 and understood how difficult peacekeeping was in the midst of civil war. His experience organizing a joint and combined staff, as Chief of Staff of USCENTCOM during Operations DESERT SHIELD and DESERT STORM, influenced how he organized his own JTF for Operation RESTORE HOPE.

Major General Charles E. Wilhelm (USMC): The Commanding General of the 1st Marine Division, General Wilhelm commanded Marine Forces Somalia (MARFOR), an integrated Marine air-ground task force. Immediately upon arrival in Somali, he assumed operational control of all U.S. ground troops in

Somalia until Army Forces Somalia (ARFOR) became operational.

Major General Steven L. Arnold (USA): The Commanding General of the 10th Mountain Division, General Arnold commanded Army Forces in Somalia (ARFOR). He served as the Operations Officer, Third U.S. Army, during Operation DESERT STORM. During the summer of 1992, General Arnold commanded the division in disaster relief activities in Florida during Operation HURRICANE ANDREW.

Brigadier General Anthony C. Zinni (USMC): As UNITAF Director for Operations (J-3), General Zinni orchestrated the operations and activities of the multi-national force. Based on his experience with the Kurdish relief efforts during Operation PROVIDE COMFORT in northern Iraq, General Zinni understood the importance of establishing good relationships with the NGOs conducting relief operations in Somalia. He established a civil-military operations center in Mogadishu that worked closely with the humanitarian operations center established by the Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance, USAID. He also established and chaired a security committee that brought together the leaders of the faction militias to discuss and resolve security issues and address other concerns, such as ceasefire violations and weapons control.

Brigadier General William Magruder III (USA): As an assistant division commander of the 10th Mountain Division, General Magruder commanded Task Force Mountain (2nd Brigade, 10th Mountain Division), which secured the port city of Kismayo. He then took command of Task Force Kismayo. Magruder took decisive steps to neutralize inter-clan fighting between

General Morgan and Colonel Jess in the Kismayo area. Task Force Kismayo was the first UNITAF element to use preemptive force against one of the Somali factions to enforce the Addis Ababa Accords.

Somali Faction Warlords

General Mohamed Farrah Aidid: A former general in the Somali National Army, General Aidid served as Ambassador to India and later as Intelligence Chief. He served as Chairman of the USC, and the head of its militia, from late 1989 until his death in 1996. The USC was the political/military arm of the large and powerful Habr Gidr sub-clan of the Hawiye clan-family in central Somalia. The Hawiye clan-family opposed the Barre regime because of its violent repression in Mogadishu. Aidid directed USC militia operations during the civil war and forced Barre to flee Mogadishu in January 1991. After driving Barre from the country, the USC divided along sub-clan lines after Ali Mahdi Muhammad was elected Interim President. General Aidid protested and rejected Mahdi's authority. Aidid formed his USC faction to destroy Mahdi's rival USC faction and assume Barre's seat. In June 1992, Aidid allied himself with the SPM faction of Colonel Ahmed Jess in southern Somalia to establish the SNA. In December 1992, Aidid's faction retained influence over 70 percent of Mogadishu. Aidid was an extremely proficient political and media manipulator. His strategic objective was consistent from the introduction of U.N. troops in July 1992: the withdrawal of U.N. forces and the positioning of himself as the dominant leader in Somalia.

Ali Mahdi Mohamed: Ali Mahdi Mohamed was an independent Somali entrepreneur and politician who was aligned with Aidid during the civil war. After the USC forced Barre to flee Mogadishu in January 1991, the USC failed to reach a political settlement with its principal rivals, the SNM, SPM and the SSDF. An international conference in Djibouti selected Mahdi to serve as Interim President. General Aidid boycotted the Djibouti conference and rejected Mahdi's authority, and he was never able to assert his authority beyond North Mogadishu and its northern environs. The USC split into two factions along sub-clan lines. Mahdi controlled the USC/Mahdi faction, which was the political/military arm of the Abgal sub-clan of the Hawiye clan-family in central Somalia. Mahdi was pro-U.N., but he would not support any move that might benefit Aidid. Therefore, Mahdi's cooperation with the U.N. and UNITAF was always qualified. Mahdi's sole strategic objective was to defeat Aidid and assume undisputed control of a new central government in Mogadishu.

Colonel Ahmed Omar Jess: Jess served as the field commander of the SPM militia and the chairman of the political arm of the SPM/SNA faction, which operated in southern Somalia with a militia strength of about 2,000 troops. The SPM was formed in 1989 when southern army garrisons, primarily of the Ogadeni clan, mutinied and went into opposition against Barre. After the Barre regime collapsed in May 1992, the SPM split into competing factions that tried dominating each other for control of the Kismayo economy. The SPM faction of Colonel Jess, which was the political/military arm of the Absame sub-clan of the Darod clan-family, controlled the town and the immediate

area around the port city of Kismayo. In June 1992, Colonel Jess allied his SPM faction with General Aiddid's USC faction to establish the SNA. After the initial Addis Ababa conferences in January 1993, fighting erupted in the Kismayo area between the SPM/SNA and General Morgan's SNF. This fighting continued intermittently until December 1993, when an SNF assault on the town resulted in the loss of the SPM/SNA foothold in the Kismayo area to General Morgan's rival faction.

General Mohamed Siad Hersi ("General Morgan"): The son-in-law of former dictator Siad Barre, General Morgan commanded the Somali National Army Special Forces ("Red Berets") as a colonel. From 1986 to 1988, as a general, he commanded the 26th Military District (the region of British Somaliland). In 1988, he was in charge of the military operations against the SNM. He became known as the "Butcher of Hargeisa" for the savage reprisals his forces inflicted on the Isaaq clan-family, including the shelling and bombing of the city of Hargeisa, leading to the deaths of an estimated 50 - 60,000 people, and forcing 300,000 Isaaqis to flee to Ethiopia. In September 1990, he was appointed Minister of Defense and Substitute Head of State of Somalia. Two months after fleeing Mogadishu with Barre in January 1991, Morgan became Chairman of the SNF. The SNF, composed of Barre supporters and the remnants of the Somali National Army, functioned as a militia to restore the old Barre regime. General Morgan operated throughout the Middle and Lower Juba Valley in southern Somalia. He became an archrival of Colonel Jess. Pro-western in personal and professional style, Morgan's strategic objectives were to exploit the presence of U.N. troops in Kismayo, and position SNF

forces to control the inter-riverine and coastal regions around Kismayo.

Appendix E: United Nations Security Council Resolution 733 (January 23, 1992)

RESOLUTION 733 (1992)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 3039th meeting, on 23 January 1992

The Security Council,

Considering the request by Somalia for the Security Council to consider the situation in Somalia (S/23445),

Having heard the report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Somalia and commending the initiative taken by him in the humanitarian field,

Gravely alarmed at the rapid deterioration of the situation in Somalia and the heavy loss of human life and widespread material damage resulting from the conflict in the country and aware of its consequences on the stability and peace in the region,

Concerned that the continuation of this situation constitutes, as stated in the report of the Secretary-General, a threat to international peace and security,

Recalling its primary responsibility under the Charter of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security,

Recalling also the provisions of Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations,

Expressing its appreciation to the international and regional organizations that have provided assistance to the populations affected by the conflict and deplored that personnel of these organizations have lost their lives in the exercise of their humanitarian task,

Taking note of the appeals addressed to the parties by the Chairman of the Organization of the Islamic Conference on 16 December 1991, the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity on 18 December 1991, and the League of Arab States on 5 January 1992 (S/23448),

1. Takes note of the report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Somalia, and expresses its concern with the situation prevailing in that country;
2. Requests the Secretary-General immediately to undertake the necessary actions to increase humanitarian assistance of the United Nations and its specialized agencies to the affected population in all parts of Somalia in liaison with the other international humanitarian organizations and to this end to appoint a coordinator to oversee the effective delivery of this assistance;
3. Requests the Secretary-General of the United Nations, in cooperation with the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity and the Secretary-General of the League of Arab States, immediately to contact all parties involved in the conflict, to seek their commitment to the cessation of hostilities to permit the humanitarian assistance to be distributed, to promote a cease-fire and compliance therewith, and to assist in the process of a political settlement of the conflict in Somalia;
4. Strongly urges all parties to the conflict immediately to cease hostilities and agree to a cease-fire and to promote the process of reconciliation and of political settlement in Somalia;
5. Decides, under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, that all States shall, for the purposes

of establishing peace and stability in Somalia, immediately implement a general and complete embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Somalia until the Security Council decides otherwise;

6. Calls on all States to refrain from any action which might contribute to increasing tension and to impeding or delaying a peaceful and negotiated outcome to the conflict in Somalia, which would permit all Somalis to decide upon and to construct their future in peace;

7. Calls upon all parties to cooperate with the Secretary-General to this end and to facilitate the delivery by the United Nations, its specialized agencies and other humanitarian organizations of humanitarian assistance to all those in need of it under the supervision of the coordinator;

8. Urges all parties to take all the necessary measures to ensure the safety of personnel sent to provide humanitarian assistance, to assist them in their tasks and to ensure full respect for the rules and principles of international law regarding the protection of civilian populations;

9. Calls upon all States and international organizations to contribute to the efforts of humanitarian assistance to the population in Somalia;

10. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council as soon as possible on this matter;

11. Decides to remain seized of the matter until a peaceful solution is achieved.

Appendix F: United Nations Security Council Resolution 746 (March 17, 1992)

RESOLUTION 746 (1992)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 3060th meeting, on 17 March 1992

The Security Council,

Considering the request by Somalia for the Security Council to consider the situation in Somalia (S/23445),

Reaffirming its resolution 733 (1992) of 23 January 1992,

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Somalia (S/23693),

Taking note of the signing of the cease-fire agreements in Mogadishu on 3 March 1992, including agreements for the implementation of measures aimed at stabilizing the cease-fire through a United Nations monitoring mission,

Deeply regretting that the factions have not yet abided by their commitment to implement the cease-fire and thus have still not permitted the unimpeded provision and distribution of humanitarian assistance to the people in need in Somalia,

Deeply disturbed by the magnitude of the human suffering caused by the conflict and concerned that the continuation of the situation in Somalia constitutes a threat to international peace and security,

Bearing in mind that the factors described in paragraph 76 of the Secretary-General's report (S/23693) must be taken into account,

Cognizant of the importance of cooperation between the United Nations and regional organizations in the context of Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations,

Underlining the importance which it attaches to the international, regional and non-governmental organizations, including the International Committee of the Red Cross, continuing to provide humanitarian and other relief assistance to the people of Somalia under difficult circumstances,

Expressing its appreciation to the regional organizations, including the Organization of African Unity, the League of Arab States and the Organization of the Islamic Conference, for their cooperation with the United Nations in the effort to resolve the Somali problem,

1. Takes note with appreciation of the report of the Secretary-General;
2. Urges the Somali factions to honour their commitment under the cease-fire agreements of 3 March 1992;
3. Urges all the Somali factions to cooperate with the Secretary-General and to facilitate the delivery by the United Nations, its specialized agencies and other humanitarian organizations of humanitarian assistance to all those in need of it, under the supervision of the coordinator mentioned in resolution 733 (1992) ;
4. Requests the Secretary-General to pursue his humanitarian efforts in Somalia and to use all the resources at his disposal, including those of the relevant United Nations agencies, to address urgently the critical needs of the affected population in Somalia;
5. Appeals to all Members States and to all humanitarian organizations to contribute to and to cooperate with these humanitarian relief efforts;

6. Strongly supports the Secretary-General's decision urgently to dispatch a technical team to Somalia, accompanied by the coordinator, in order to work within the framework and objectives outlined in paragraphs 73 and 74 of his report (S/23693) and to submit expeditiously a report to the Security Council on this matter;
7. Requests that the technical team also develop a high priority plan to establish mechanisms to ensure the unimpeded delivery of humanitarian assistance;
8. Calls on all parties, movements and factions in Mogadishu in particular, and in Somalia in general, to respect fully the security and safety of the technical team and the personnel of the humanitarian organizations and to guarantee their complete freedom of movement in and around Mogadishu and other parts of Somalia;
9. Calls upon the Secretary-General of the United Nations to continue, in close cooperation with the Organization of African Unity, the League of Arab States and the Organization of the Islamic Conference, his consultations with all Somali parties, movements and factions towards the convening of a conference for national reconciliation and unity in Somalia;
10. Calls upon all Somali parties, movements and factions to cooperate fully with the Secretary-General in the implementation of this resolution;
11. Decides to remain seized of the matter until a peaceful solution is achieved.

Appendix G: United Nations Security Council Resolution 751 (April 24, 1992)

RESOLUTION 751 (1992)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 3069th meeting, on 24 April 1992

The Security Council,

Considering the request by Somalia for the Security Council to consider the situation in Somalia,

Reaffirming its resolutions 733 (1992) of 23 January 1992 and 746 (1992) of 17 March 1992,

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General of 21 and 24 April 1992 on the situation in Somalia.

Taking note of the signing of the cease-fire agreements in Mogadishu on 3 March 1992, including agreements for the implementation of measures aimed at stabilizing the cease-fire through a United Nations monitoring mission.

Taking note also of the signing of letters of agreement in Mogadishu, Hargeisa and Kismayo on the mechanism for monitoring the cease-fire and arrangements for the equitable and effective distribution of humanitarian assistance in and around Mogadishu,

Deeply disturbed by the magnitude of the human suffering caused by the conflict and concerned that the continuation of the situation in Somalia constitutes a threat to international peace and security,

Cognizant of the importance of cooperation between the United Nations and regional organizations in the context of Chapter III of the Charter of the United Nations,

Underlining the importance which it attaches to the international, regional and non-governmental organizations, including the International Committee of the Red Cross, continuing to provide humanitarian and other relief assistance to the people of Somalia under difficult circumstances,

Expressing its appreciation to the regional organizations, including the Organization of African Unity, the League of Arab States and the Organization of the Islamic Conference, for their cooperation with the United Nations in the effort to resolve the Somali problem,

1. Takes note with appreciation of the report of the Secretary-General of 21 and 24 April 1992 on the situation in Somalia;
2. Decides to establish under its authority, and in support of the Secretary-General in accordance with paragraph 7 below, a United Nations Operation in Somalia;
3. Requests the Secretary-General immediately to deploy a unit of fifty United Nations observers to monitor the ceasefire in Mogadishu in accordance with paragraphs 24 to 26 of the Secretary-General's report;
4. Agrees, in principle, also to establish under the overall direction of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General a United Nations security force to be deployed as soon as possible to perform

the functions described in paragraphs 27 to 29 of the report of the Secretary-General;

5. Requests the Secretary-General to continue his consultations with the parties in Mogadishu regarding the proposed United Nations security force and, in the light of those consultations, to submit his further recommendations to the Security Council for its decision as soon as possible;
6. Welcomes the intention expressed by the Secretary-General in paragraph 64 of his report to appoint a Special Representative for Somalia to provide overall direction of United Nations activities in Somalia and to assist him in his endeavours to reach a peaceful resolution of the conflict in Somalia;
7. Also requests the Secretary-General as part of his continuing mission in Somalia to facilitate an immediate and effective cessation of hostilities and the maintenance of a ceasefire throughout the country in order to promote the process of reconciliation and political settlement in Somalia and to provide urgent humanitarian assistance;
8. Welcomes the cooperation between the United Nations and the League of Arab States, the Organization of African Unity and the Organization of the Islamic Conference in resolving the problem in Somalia;
9. Calls upon all parties, movements and factions in Somalia immediately to cease hostilities and to maintain a cease-fire throughout the country in order to promote the process of reconciliation and political settlement in Somalia;

10. Requests the Secretary-General to continue as a matter of priority his consultations with all Somali parties, movements and factions towards the convening of a conference on national reconciliation and unity in Somalia in close cooperation with the League of Arab States, the Organization of African Unity and the Organization of the Islamic Conference
11. Decides to establish, in accordance with rule 28 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council, a Committee of the Security Council consisting of all the members of the Council, to undertake the following tasks and to report on its work to the Council with its observations and recommendations:
 - (a) To seek from all States information regarding the action taken by them concerning the effective implementation of the general and complete embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Somalia imposed by paragraph 5 of resolution 733 (1992);
 - (b) To consider any information brought to its attention by States concerning violations of the embargo, and in that context to make recommendations to the Council on ways of increasing the effectiveness of the embargo;
 - (c) To recommend appropriate measures in response to violations of the embargo and to provide information on a regular basis to the Secretary-General for general distribution to Member States;

12. Notes with appreciation the ongoing efforts of the United Nations, its specialized agencies and humanitarian organizations to ensure delivery of humanitarian assistance to Somalia, particularly to Mogadishu;
13. Calls upon the international community to support, with financial and other resources, the implementation of the ninety-day Plan of Action for Emergency Humanitarian Assistance to Somalia;
14. Urges all parties concerned in Somalia to facilitate the efforts of the United Nations, its specialized agencies and humanitarian organizations to provide urgent humanitarian assistance to the affected population in Somalia and reiterates its call for the full respect for the security and safety of the personnel of the humanitarian organizations and the guarantee of their complete freedom of movement in and around Mogadishu and other parts of Somalia;
15. Calls upon all Somali parties, movements and factions to cooperate fully with the Secretary-General in the implementation of the present resolution;
16. Decides to remain seized of the matter until a peaceful solution is achieved.

Appendix H: United Nations Security Council Resolution 767 (July 27, 1992)

RESOLUTION 767 (1992)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 3101st meeting,
on 27 July 1992

The Security Council,

Considering the request by Somalia for the Security Council to consider the situation in Somalia (S/23445),

Reaffirming its resolutions 733 (1992) of 23 January 1992, 746 (1992) of 17 March 1992 and 751 (1992) of 24 April 1992,

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Somalia (S/74343),

Considering the letter of the Secretary-General to the President of the Security Council informing him that all the parties in Mogadishu have agreed to the deployment of the fifty military observers, and that the advance party of the observers arrived in Mogadishu on 5 July 1992 and that the rest of the observers arrived in the mission area on 23 July 1992 (S/24179),

Deeply concerned about the availability of arms and ammunition in the hands of civilians and the proliferation of armed banditry throughout Somalia,

Alarmed by the sporadic outbreak of hostilities in several parts of Somalia leading to continued loss of life and destruction of property, and putting at risk the personnel of the United Nations, non-governmental organizations and other international humanitarian organizations, as well as disrupting their operations,

Deeply disturbed by the magnitude of human suffering caused by the conflict and concerned that the situation in Somalia constitutes a threat to international peace and security,

Gravely alarmed by the deterioration of the humanitarian situation in Somalia and underlining the urgent need for quick delivery of humanitarian assistance in the whole country,

Recognizing that the provision of humanitarian assistance in Somalia is an important element in the effort of the Council to restore international peace and security in the area,

Responding to the urgent calls by the parties in Somalia for the international community to take measures in Somalia to ensure the delivery of humanitarian assistance in Somalia,

Noting the Secretary-General's proposals for a comprehensive decentralized zonal approach in the United Nations involvement in Somalia,

Cognizant that the success of such an approach requires the cooperation of all parties, movements and factions in Somalia,

1. Takes note with appreciation of the report of the Secretary-General of 22 July 1992 (S/24343);
2. Requests the Secretary-General to make full use of all available means and arrangements, including the mounting of an urgent airlift operation, with a view to facilitating the efforts of the United Nations, its specialized agencies and humanitarian organizations in accelerating the provision of humanitarian assistance to the affected population in Somalia, threatened by mass starvation;

3. Urges all parties, movements and factions in Somalia to facilitate the efforts of the United Nations, its specialized agencies and humanitarian organizations to provide urgent humanitarian assistance to the affected population in Somalia and reiterates its call for the full respect of the security and safety of the personnel of the humanitarian organizations and the guarantee of their complete freedom of movement in and around Mogadishu and other parts of Somalia;
4. Calls upon all parties, movements and factions in Somalia to cooperate with the United Nations with a view to the urgent deployment of the United Nations security personnel called for in paragraphs 4 and 5 of its resolution 751 (1992) , and otherwise assist in the general stabilization of the situation in Somalia. In the absence of such cooperation, the Security Council does not exclude other measures to deliver humanitarian assistance to Somalia;
5. Reiterates its appeal to the international community to provide adequate financial and other resources for humanitarian efforts in Somalia;
6. Encourages the ongoing efforts of the United Nations, its specialized agencies and humanitarian organizations, including the International Committee of the Red Cross, to ensure delivery of humanitarian assistance to all regions of Somalia;
7. Appeals to all parties, movements and factions in Somalia to extend full cooperation to the military observers and to take measures to ensure their security;
8. Requests the Secretary-General, as part of his continuing efforts in Somalia, to promote an immediate and effective cessation of hostilities and the main-

tenance of a cease-fire throughout the country in order to facilitate the urgent delivery of humanitarian assistance and the process of reconciliation and political settlement in Somalia;

9. Calls upon all parties, movements and factions in Somalia immediately to cease hostilities and to maintain a cease-fire throughout the country;

10. Stresses the need for the observance and strict monitoring of the general and complete embargo of all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Somalia, as decided in paragraph 5 of its resolution 733 (1992) ;

11. Welcomes the cooperation between the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity, the League of Arab States and the Organization of the Islamic Conference in resolving the situation in Somalia;

12. Approves the Secretary-General's proposal to establish four operational zones in Somalia as part of the consolidated United Nations Operations in Somalia (UNOSOM);

13. Requests the Secretary-General to ensure that his Special Representative for Somalia is provided with all the necessary support services to enable him to effectively carry out his mandate;

14. Strongly supports the Secretary-General's decision urgently to dispatch a technical team to Somalia, under the overall direction of the Special Representative, in order to work within the framework and objectives outlined in paragraph 64 of his report (S/24343) and to submit expeditiously a report to the Security Council in this matter;

15. Affirms that all officials of the United Nations and all experts on mission for the United Nations in

Somalia enjoy the privileges and immunities provided for in the Convention on the Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations of 1946 and in any other relevant instruments and that all parties, movements and factions in Somalia are required to allow them full freedom of movement and all necessary facilities;

16. Requests the Secretary-General to continue urgently his consultations with all parties, movements and factions in Somalia towards the convening of a conference on national reconciliation and unity in Somalia in close cooperation with the Organization of African Unity, the League of Arab States and the Organization of the Islamic Conference;

17. Calls upon all parties, movements and factions in Somalia to cooperate fully with the Secretary-General in the implementation of this resolution;

18. Decides to remain seized of the matter until a peaceful solution is achieved.

Appendix I: United Nations Security Council Resolution 775 (August 28, 1992)

RESOLUTION 775 (1992)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 3110th meeting, on 28 August 1992

The Security Council,

Considering the request by Somalia for the Security Council to consider the situation in Somalia (S/23445),

Reaffirming its resolutions 733 (1992) of 23 January 1992, 746 (1992) of 17 March 1992, 751 (1992) of 24 April 1992 and 767 (1992) of 27 July 1992,

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Somalia (S/24480),

Deeply concerned about the availability of arms and ammunition and the proliferation of armed banditry throughout Somalia,

Alarmed by the continued sporadic outbreak of hostilities in several parts of Somalia leading to continued loss of life and destruction of property, and putting at risk the personnel of the United Nations, non-governmental organizations and other international humanitarian organizations, as well as disrupting their operations,

Deeply disturbed by the magnitude of the human suffering caused by the conflict and concerned that the situation in Somalia constitutes a threat to international peace and security,

Gravely alarmed by the deterioration of the humanitarian situation in Somalia and underlining the urgent

need for quick delivery of humanitarian assistance in the whole country,

Reaffirming that the provision of humanitarian assistance in Somalia is an important element in the effort of the Council to restore international peace and security in the area,

Welcoming the ongoing efforts by the United Nations organizations as well as the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), non-governmental organizations and States to provide humanitarian assistance to the affected population in Somalia,

Welcoming in particular the initiatives to provide relief through airlift operations,

Convinced that no durable progress will be achieved in the absence of an overall political solution in Somalia,

Taking note in particular of paragraph 24 of the report of the Secretary-General,

1. Takes note with appreciation of the report of the Secretary-General of 24 August 1992 (S/24480) on the findings of the technical team and the recommendations of the Secretary-General contained therein;
2. Invites the Secretary-General to establish four zone headquarters as proposed in paragraph 31 of the Secretary-General's report (S/24480);
3. Authorizes the increase in strength of the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM) and the subsequent deployment as recommended in paragraph 37 of the Secretary-General's report;
4. Welcomes the decision of the Secretary-General to increase substantially the airlift operation to areas of priority attention;

5. Calls upon all parties, movements and factions in Somalia to cooperate with the United Nations with a view to the urgent deployment of the United Nations security personnel called for in paragraphs 4 and 5 of its resolution 751 (1992) and as recommended in paragraph 37 of the Secretary-General's report;
6. Welcomes also the material and logistical support from a number of States and urges that the airlift operation be effectively coordinated by the United Nations as described in paragraphs 17 to 21 of the report of the Secretary-General;
7. Urges all parties, movements and factions in Somalia to facilitate the efforts of the United Nations, its specialized agencies and humanitarian organizations to provide urgent humanitarian assistance to the affected population in Somalia and reiterates its call for the full respect of the security and safety of the personnel of these organizations and the guarantee of their complete freedom of movement in and around Mogadishu and other parts of Somalia;
8. Reiterates its appeal to the international community to provide adequate financial and other resources for humanitarian efforts in Somalia;
9. Encourages ongoing efforts of the United Nations, its specialized agencies and humanitarian organizations including the International Committee of the Red Cross and non-governmental organizations to ensure delivery of humanitarian assistance to all regions of Somalia and underlines the importance of coordination between these efforts;
10. Requests also the Secretary-General to continue, in close cooperation with the Organization of African Unity, the League of Arab States and the

Organization of the Islamic Conference, his efforts to seek a comprehensive political solution to the crisis in Somalia;

11. Calls upon all parties, movements and factions in Somalia immediately to cease hostilities and to maintain a cease-fire throughout the country;

12. Stresses the need for the observance and strict monitoring of the general and complete embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Somalia, as decided in paragraph 5 of its resolution 733 (1992) ;

13. Calls upon all parties, movements and factions in Somalia to cooperate fully with the Secretary-General in the implementation of this resolution;

14 Decides to remain seized of the matter until a peaceful solution is achieved.

Appendix J: United Nations Security Council Resolution 794 (December 3, 1992)

RESOLUTION 794 (1992)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 3145th meeting, on 3 December 1992

The Security Council,

Reaffirming its resolutions 733 (1992) of 23 January 1992, 746 (1992) of 17 March 1992, 751 (1992) of 24 April 1992, 767 (1992) of 27 July 1992 and 775 (1992) of 28 August 1992,

Recognizing the unique character of the present situation in Somalia and mindful of its deteriorating, complex and extraordinary nature, requiring an immediate and exceptional response,

Determining that the magnitude of the human tragedy caused by the conflict in Somalia, further exacerbated by the obstacles being created to the distribution of humanitarian assistance, constitutes a threat to international peace and security,

Gravely alarmed by the deterioration of the humanitarian situation in Somalia and underlining the urgent need for the quick delivery of humanitarian assistance in the whole country,

Noting the efforts of the League of Arab States, the Organization of African Unity, and in particular the proposal made by its Chairman at the forty-seventh regular session of the General Assembly for the organization of an international conference on Somalia, and the Organization of the Islamic Conference and other regional agencies and arrangements to promote

reconciliation and political settlement in Somalia and to address the humanitarian needs of the people of that country,

Commending the ongoing efforts of the United Nations, its specialized agencies and humanitarian organizations and of non-governmental organizations and of States to ensure delivery of humanitarian assistance in Somalia,

Responding to the urgent calls from Somalia for the international community to take measures to ensure the delivery of humanitarian assistance in Somalia,

Expressing grave alarm at continuing reports of widespread violations of international humanitarian law occurring in Somalia, including reports of violence and threats of violence against personnel participating lawfully in impartial humanitarian relief activities; deliberate attacks on non-combatants, relief consignments and vehicles, and medical and relief facilities; and impeding the delivery of food and medical supplies essential for the survival of the civilian population,

Dismayed by the continuation of conditions that impede the delivery of humanitarian supplies to destinations within Somalia, and in particular reports of looting of relief supplies destined for starving people, attacks on aircraft and ships bringing in humanitarian relief supplies, and attacks on the Pakistani UNOSOM contingent in Mogadishu,

Taking note with appreciation of the letters of the Secretary-General of 24 November 1992 (S/24859) and of 29 November 1992 (S/24868),

Sharing the Secretary-General's assessment that the situation in Somalia is intolerable and that it has be-

come necessary to review the basic premises and principles of the United Nations effort in Somalia, and that UNOSOM's existing course would not in present circumstances be an adequate response to the tragedy in Somalia,

Determined to establish as soon as possible the necessary conditions for the delivery of humanitarian assistance wherever needed in Somalia, in conformity with resolutions 751 (1992) and 767 (1992),

Noting the offer by Member States aimed at establishing a secure environment for humanitarian relief operations in Somalia as soon as possible,

Determined further to restore peace, stability and law and order with a view to facilitating the process of a political settlement under the auspices of the United Nations, aimed at national reconciliation in Somalia, and encouraging the Secretary-General and his Special Representative to continue and intensify their work at the national and regional levels to promote these objectives,

Recognizing that the people of Somalia bear ultimate responsibility for national reconciliation and the reconstruction of their own country,

Reaffirms its demand that all parties, movements and factions in Somalia immediately cease hostilities, maintain a cease-fire throughout the country, and cooperate with the Special Representative of the Secretary-General as well as with the military forces to be established pursuant to the authorization given in paragraph 10 below in order to promote the process of relief distribution, reconciliation and political settlement in Somalia;

Demands that all parties, movements and factions in

Somalia take all measures necessary to facilitate the efforts of the United Nations, its specialized agencies and humanitarian organizations to provide urgent humanitarian assistance to the affected population in Somalia;

Also demands that all parties, movements and factions in Somalia take all measures necessary to ensure the safety of United Nations and all other personnel engaged in the delivery of humanitarian assistance, including the military forces to be established pursuant to the authorization given in paragraph 10 below;

Further demands that all parties, movements and factions in Somalia immediately cease and desist from all breaches of international humanitarian law including from actions such as those described above;

Strongly condemns all violations of international humanitarian law occurring in Somalia, including in particular the deliberate impeding of the delivery of food and medical supplies essential for the survival of the civilian population, and affirms that those who commit or order the commission of such acts will be held individually responsible in respect of such acts;

Decides that the operations and the further deployment of the 3,500 personnel of the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM) authorized by paragraph 3 of resolution 775 (1992) should proceed at the discretion of the Secretary-General in the light of his assessment of conditions on the ground; and requests him to keep the Council informed and to make such recommendations as may be appropriate for the fulfilment of its mandate where conditions permit;

Endorses the recommendation by the Secretary-General in his letter of 29 November 1992 (S/24868) that

action under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations should be taken in order to establish a secure environment for humanitarian relief operations in Somalia as soon as possible;

Welcomes the offer by a Member State described in the Secretary-General's letter to the Council of 29 November 1992 (S/24868) concerning the establishment of an operation to create such a secure environment;

Welcomes also offers by other Member States to participate in that operation;

Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, authorizes the Secretary-General and Member States cooperating to implement the offer referred to in paragraph 8 above to use all necessary means to establish as soon as possible a secure environment for humanitarian relief operations in Somalia;

Calls on all Member States which are in a position to do so to provide military forces and to make additional contributions, in cash or in kind, in accordance with paragraph 10 above and requests the Secretary-General to establish a fund through which the contributions, where appropriate, could be channeled to the States or operations concerned;

Authorizes the Secretary-General and the Member States concerned to make the necessary arrangements for the unified command and control of the forces involved, which will reflect the offer referred to in paragraph 8 above.

Requests the Secretary-General and the Member States acting under paragraph 10 above to establish appropriate mechanisms for coordination between the United Nations and their military forces;

14. Decides to appoint an ad hoc commission

composed of members of the Security Council to report to the Council on the implementation of this resolution;

15. Invites the Secretary-General to attach a small UNOSOM liaison staff to the Field Headquarters of the unified command [UNITAF];

Acting under Chapters VII and VIII of the Charter, calls upon States, nationally or through regional agencies or arrangements, to use such measures as may be necessary to ensure strict implementation of paragraph 5 resolution 733 (1992);

Requests all States, in particular those in the region, to provide appropriate support for the actions undertaken by States, nationally or through regional agencies or arrangements, pursuant to this and other relevant resolutions;

Requests the Secretary-General and, as appropriate, the States concerned to report to the Council on a regular basis, the first such report to be made no later than fifteen days after the adoption of this resolution on the implementation of this resolution and the attainment of the objective of establishing a secure environment so as to enable the Council to make the necessary decision for a prompt transition to continued peace-keeping operations;

19. Requests the Secretary-General to submit a plan to the Council initially within fifteen days after the adoption of this resolution to ensure that UNOSOM will be able to fulfil its mandate upon the withdrawal of the unified command;

Invites the Secretary-General and his Special Representative to continue their efforts to achieve a political settlement in Somalia;

Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.

Appendix K: Unified Task Force Troop List

Command and Staff

Commanding General: Lieutenant General Robert B. Johnston
Deputy Commanding General: Major General W. D. Moore, USA
Joint Force Air Component Commander: Major General Harold W. Blot
Chief or Staff: Colonel Billy C. Steed
Political Advisor: Mr. John Hirsch
Administration (J-1): Colonel L. Rehberger III
Intelligence (J-2): Colonel W. M. Handley, USA
Operations (J-3): Brigadier General Anthony C. Zinni
Logistics (J-4): Colonel Sam E. Hatton, USA
Plans and Policy (J-5): Colonel John W. Moffett
Command Control, Communications (J-6): Colonel Robert G. Hill
Executive Assistant (J-8/EA): Colonel Michael W. Hagee
Joint Information Bureau: Colonel Frederick C. Peck
Joint Visitor's Bureau: Colonel R. J. Agro
Civil-Military Operations Center: Colonel Kevin M. Kennedy
Surgeon: Captain Michael L. Cowan, USN
Engineer: Colonel Robert B. Flowers, USA
Headquarters Commandant: Major Eric C. Holt
Joint Combat Camera Detachment: Lieutenant Commander James P. Kiser, USN

Coalition Forces

Australia

Commanding Officer: Colonel William J. Mellor, Australian Army

1st Battalion Group, The Royal Australian Regiment

1st Battalion, The Royal Australian Regiment

1st Battalion, Support Group
B Squadron, 3rd/4th Cavalry Regiment

Battery Commander's Party, 107th Field Battery
17th Troop, 18th Field Squadron, 3rd Combat Engineer Regiment
Detachment, 103rd Signals Squadron

Naval

Contingent
HMAS *Jervis Bay*
HMAS
Tobruk

Belgium

Commanding Officer: Colonel Marc Jacqmin, Belgian Army

1st Parachute Battalion (Reinforced)
Headquarters Company
Support Company
11th Company
13th Company
21st Company
Reconnaissance Company
Engineer Platoon
Supply Platoon (Reinforced)
Surgical Team
Signal Platoon
Explosive Ordnance Disposal Team
Aviation Detachment
Judge Advocate General Team

Naval Contingent
HMS *Zinnia*

<p>Botswana Commanding Officer: Lieutenant Colonel Thulanganyo Masisi, Botswana Defense Force</p> <p>Composite Reinforced Company</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Command Section 1st Platoon (Mechanized) 2nd Platoon (Light Infantry) 3rd Platoon (Light Infantry) 4th Platoon (Light Infantry) Special Forces Troop Mortar Platoon Medical Section Transportation Section Signals Section Stores Section Messing Section Central Arms Depot Engineer Section <p>Canada Commanding Officer: Colonel Serge Labbe, Canadian Army</p> <p>Canadian Joint Force Somalia</p> <p>Canadian Airborne Regiment Battle Group I</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Commando 2Commando 3 Commando Service Commando DFS Platoon Reconnaissance Platoon A Squadron, Royal Canadian Dragoons Engineer Troop Signal Troop Aviation Detachment <p>Naval Contingent</p> <p>HMCS <i>Preserver</i></p> <p>Egypt Commanding Officer: Colonel AJ-Fakhriani, Egyptian Army</p> <p>Composite Reinforced Company</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1st Platoon (Light Armored) 	<p>2nd Platoon (Light Armored) Logistics Platoon</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Medical Section Engineer Section Maintenance Section Logistics Section <p>France Commanding General: Major General Rene Delhome, French Army</p> <p>Command Element, 9th Marine Infantry Division</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Battalion, 13th Foreign Legion Demi-Brigade Battalion, 5th Combined Arms Overseas Regiment 3rd Company, 3rd Marine Infantry Regiment 4th Company, 3rd Marine Infantry Regiment 3rd Company, 6th Foreign Legion Engineer Regiment Detachment, 5th Combat Helicopter Regiment Detachment, Special Forces Detachment, Logistics Support Battalion <p>Naval Contingent</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Frigate <i>Georges Leygues</i> Light Transport <i>LaGrandiere</i> Amphibious Ship <i>Foudre</i> Tanker <i>Var</i> <p>Germany Commanding Officer: Lieutenant Colonel Meitzner, German Air Force</p> <p>Three Luftwaffe C-160 aircraft operating from Mombasa, Kenya</p> <p>Greece Commanding Officer: Colonel Spiliotis, Greek Army</p> <p>Infantry Battalion (-)</p>
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<p>India Commanding Officer: Commodore Sam Pillai, Indian Navy</p> <p>Naval Contingent Tanker INS <i>Deepak</i> Amphibious Landing Ship INS <i>Cheetah</i> Frigate INS <i>Kuthar</i></p> <p>Italy Commanding General: Major General Gianpietro Rossi, Italian Army</p> <p>Headquarters Element Folgore Parachute Brigade Headquarters Regiment 186th Parachute Regiment 187th Parachute Regiment 9th Assault Parachute Battalion Logistics Battalion Armored Vehicle Company Engineer Company Tank Company Field Hospital "Centauro" Surgical Detachment San Marco Battalion (Marine Infantry) Composite Helicopter Regiment Detachment, 46th Aviation Brigade</p> <p>Naval Contingent Frigate ITS <i>Grecale</i> Logistical Landing Ship ITS <i>Vesuvio</i> Landing Ship Tank ITS <i>San Giorgio</i></p> <p>Kuwait Commanding Officers: Lieutenant Colonel Mohamad al-Obaid, Kuwaiti Army Major Al Muzien, Kuwaiti Army</p> <p>Composite Reinforced Motorized Company Company Headquarters Armored Car Platoon Scout Platoon</p>	<p>Medical Section Engineer Section Logistics Section Communications Section Military Police Section Post Exchange Section Public Affairs Section</p> <p>Morocco Commanding Officer: Colonel Major (brigadier general equivalent) Omar Ess-Akalli, Royal Moroccan Army</p> <p>Base Section 3rd Motorized Infantry Regiment Infantry Company Infantry Company Cavalry Company Air Defense Artillery Element Medical Section</p> <p>New Zealand Commanding Officers: Colonel Dunne, Royal New Zealand Air Force, December 9, 1992 to March 18, 1993 Wing Commander Duxfield, Royal New Zealand Air Force, from March 18, 1993 Detachment, 42 Squadron (3 Andover transport aircraft)</p> <p>Nigeria Commanding Officer: Lieutenant Colonel Olagunsoye Oyinlola, Nigerian Army</p> <p>245 Reconnaissance Battalion Battalion Headquarters Administration Company Company A (Mechanized Infantry) Company B (Mechanized Infantry) Company C (Reconnaissance Company) Company D (Reconnaissance Company)</p>
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<p>Pakistan (Note: Does not include Pakistani forces in Somalia as part of UNOSOMI)</p>	<p>Fire Support Platoon Quartermaster Platoon Transport and Maintenance Platoon Signal Section Medical Section Engineer Section</p>
<p>Commanding Officers: Colonel Asif, Pakistani Army</p>	
<p>Lieutenant Colonel Tariq S. Malik, Pakistani Army</p>	
<p>6th Battalion, The Punjab Regiment</p>	
<p>7th Battalion, Frontier Forces</p>	
<p>10th Battalion, Baluch Regiment</p>	
<p>1st Battalion, Sind Regiment</p>	
<p>Saudi Arabia</p>	
<p>Commanding Officer: Colonel Ali al Sbehri, Royal Saudi Land Forces</p>	
<p>5th Royal Saudi Land Forces Airborne Battalion (Reinforced)</p>	
<p>Sweden</p>	
<p>Commanding Officer: Lieutenant Colonel Lars A. Hedman, Swedish Army</p>	
<p>1st Field Hospital</p>	
<p>Tunisia</p>	
<p>Commanding Officer: Lieutenant Colonel Sharif, Tunisian Army</p>	
<p>Infantry Battalion (-)</p>	
<p>Turkey</p>	
<p>Commanding Officers: Colonel Huseyin Erim, Turkish Army, December 9, 1992 to March 25, 1993</p>	
<p>Major Haldun Solmazturk, Turkish Army, from March 25, 1993</p>	
<p>1st Company, 1 Battalion Mechanized, 28 Brigade</p>	
<p>Headquarters Section</p>	
<p>1st Platoon (Mechanized Infantry)</p>	
<p>2nd Platoon (Mechanized Infantry)</p>	
<p>3rd Platoon (Mechanized Infantry)</p>	
<p>Naval Contingent Landing Ship Tank <i>Ertugrul</i> Logistics Ship <i>Derya</i> Destroyer <i>Fatih</i></p>	
<p>United Arab Emirates</p>	
<p>Commanding Officers: Lieutenant Colonel Alkefbi, United Arab Emirates Army, February 9, 1993</p>	
<p>Lieutenant Colonel Abdullah Ketbi, United Arab Emirates Army, from February 9, 1993</p>	
<p>Al Wajeb Battalion</p>	
<p>Headquarters Company</p>	
<p>Services Section Combat Engineer Platoon</p>	
<p>81mm Mortar Platoon</p>	
<p>Reconnaissance Company 2nd Company (Mechanized Infantry)</p>	
<p>3rd Company (Mechanized Infantry)</p>	
<p>United Kingdom</p>	
<p>Commanding Officer: Wing Commander Humphrey, Royal Air Force</p>	
<p>Two Royal Air Force C-130 aircraft flying out of Mombasa, Kenya</p>	
<p>United States</p>	
<p>Air Force Forces Somalia</p>	
<p>Commanding Officers: Brigadier General Thomas R. Mikolajcik, USAF, December 9, 1992 to March 29, 1993</p>	
<p>Colonel Wirthe, USAF, from March 29, 1993</p>	
<p>Air Force Forces Somalia Staff, Mogadishu</p>	
<p>437th Tactical Airlift Wing</p>	
<p>5th Combat Communications Group</p>	
<p>823rd Civil Engineering Squadron</p>	
<p>Mogadishu Airfield Tactical Airlift Control Element</p>	

<p>Mogadishu Airfield Support Deployed Tactical Airlift Control Element</p>	<p>Joint Special Operations Force Commanding Officers: Colonel Thomas Smith, USA Lieutenant Colonel William L. Faistenhammer, USA, after January 20, 1993</p>
<p>Army Forces Somalia Commanding Generals: Brigadier General William Magruder III, USA Major General Steven L. Arnold, USA, December 22, 1992 to March 13, 1993 Brigadier Greg L. Gile, USA, March 13 to May 4, 1993</p>	<p>1st Battalion, 5th Special Forces Group Company B Company C 2nd Battalion, 5th Special Forces Group Company A (Operation Provide Relief) Company C</p>
<p>10th Mountain Division (Light Infantry) 2nd Brigade (Commando Brigade) 3rd Battalion, 14th Infantry 2nd Battalion, 87th Infantry A Company, 1st Battalion, 87th Infantry E Company, 1st Battalion, 87th Infantry (Provisional) Scout Platoon, 1st Battalion, 87th Infantry Aviation Brigade (Falcon Brigade) 3rd Battalion (Assault), 25th Aviation 3rd Squadron, 17th Cavalry</p>	<p>Joint Task Force Support Command Commanding General: Brigadier General Billy K. Solomon, USA</p>
<p>10th Mountain Division Support Command 210th Support Battalion (Forward) 710th Support Battalion (Main) 10th Signal Battalion 41st Engineer Battalion 10th Military Intelligence Battalion 10th Military Police Company Battery B, 3rd Battalion, 62nd Air Defense Artillery Detachment, Battery A, 3rd Battalion, 62nd Air Defense Artillery</p>	<p>36th Engineer Group 43rd Engineer Battalion 63rd Engineer Company (Combat Support Equipment) 642nd Engineer Company (Combat Support Equipment) 74th Engineer Detachment (Diving) 95th Engineer Detachment (Fire Fighting) 520th Engineer Detachment (Fire Fighting) 597th Engineer Detachment (Fire Fighting) 33rd Finance Battalion (Provisional) (FSU) 602nd Maintenance Company Detachment, 514th Maintenance Company 62nd Medical Group</p>
<p>Joint Psychological Operations Task Force Commanding Officer: Lieutenant Colonel Charles Borchini, USA</p> <p>8th Psychological Operations Battalion Product Dissemination Battalion 9th Psychological Operations Battalion (Tactical)</p>	<p>32nd Medical Battalion (Logistics) 86th Evacuation Hospital 159th Medical Company (Air Ambulance) 423rd Medical Company (Clearing) 514th Medical Company (Ambulance) 61st Medical Detachment (Preventive Medicine Sanitation) 73rd Medical Detachment (Veterinary) 224th Medical Detachment (Preventive Medicine Sanitation) 227th Medical Detachment (Epidemiology) 248th Medical Detachment (Veterinary) 257th Medical Detachment (Dental)</p>

<p>485th Medical Detachment (Preventive Medicine Entomology)</p> <p>528th Medical Detachment (Combat Stress Team)</p> <p>555th Medical Detachment (Surgical) Detachment, 513th Military Intelligence Brigade</p> <p>593rd Support Group (Area)</p> <p>4th Support Center (Material Management)</p> <p>548th Supply and Services Battalion</p> <p>62nd Supply Company</p> <p>266th Supply Company (Direct Support)</p> <p>364th Supply Company</p> <p>7th Transportation Group</p> <p>49th Transportation Center (Movement Control)</p> <p>6th Transportation Battalion</p> <p>24th Transportation Battalion</p> <p>24th Transportation Company</p> <p>57th Transportation Company</p> <p>100th Transportation Company</p> <p>119th Transportation Company</p> <p>155th Transportation Company</p> <p>360th Transportation Company</p> <p>710th Transportation Company (Provisional) (Boat)</p> <p>870th Transportation Company</p> <p>22nd Transportation Detachment</p> <p>160th Transportation Detachment</p> <p>169th Transportation Detachment</p> <p>329th Transportation Detachment</p> <p>491st Transportation Detachment</p> <p>2nd Chemical Battalion</p> <p>720th Military Police Battalion</p> <p>511th Military Police Company</p> <p>571st Military Police Company</p> <p>978th Military Police Company</p> <p>984th Military Police Company</p> <p>Military Police Criminal Investigation Element</p> <p>240th Quartermaster Battalion</p> <p>110th Quartermaster Company (POL)</p> <p>267th Quartermaster Company</p> <p>18th Quartermaster Platoon</p> <p>26th Quartermaster Detachment</p> <p>30th Quartermaster Detachment</p> <p>82nd Quartermaster Detachment</p> <p>22nd Quartermaster Laboratory Detachment, 54th Quartermaster Company (Graves Registration)</p>	<p>Task Force Thunderbird (Signal)</p> <p>209th Signal Company</p> <p>516th Signal Company</p> <p>Company C, 327th Signal Battalion</p> <p>Detachment, Headquarters and Headquarters Company, 11th Signal Brigade</p> <p>Detachment, 63rd Signal Battalion</p> <p>Headquarters and Headquarters Detachment, 86th Signal Battalion</p> <p>Detachment, 19th Signal Company</p> <p>Detachment, 69th Signal Company</p> <p>Detachment, 385th Signal Company</p> <p>Detachment, 505th Signal Company</p> <p>Detachment, 521st Signal Company</p> <p>Detachment, 526th Signal Company</p> <p>Detachment, 593rd Signal Company</p> <p>10th Personnel Services Company</p> <p>546th Personnel Services Company</p> <p>129th Postal Company</p> <p>711th Postal Company</p> <p>Detachment, Company B (Air Traffic Control), 1st Battalion, 58th Aviation</p> <p>Task Force 5-158 Aviation</p> <p>13th Ordnance Detachment (EOD)</p> <p>60th Ordnance Detachment (EOD)</p> <p>542nd Ordnance Detachment (EOD)</p> <p>27th Public Affairs Team</p> <p>28th Public Affairs Team</p> <p>Marine Forces Somalia</p> <p>Commanding Officers: Major General Charles E. Wilhelm, December 9, 1992 to March 23, 1993</p> <p>Colonel Jack W. Klimp, March 23 to April 9, 1993</p> <p>Colonel Emil R. Bedard, April 9-28, 1993</p> <p>Colonel Kenneth W. Hillman, April 28 to May 4, 1993</p> <p>1st Marine Division (-) (Reinforced)</p> <p>Headquarters Battalion, 1st Marine Division (-) (Reinforced)</p> <p>7th Marines (-) (Reinforced)</p> <p>Headquarters Company, 7th Marines</p> <p>1st Battalion, 7th Marines</p> <p>3rd Battalion, 9th Marines</p> <p>3rd Battalion, 11th Marines (-) (Reinforced)</p>
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3rd Light Armored Infantry Battalion (-) (Reinforced)	Detachment, Marine Air Traffic Control Squadron 38
3rd Amphibious Assault Battalion (-)	Detachment, Marine Air Support Squadron 3
1st Combat Engineer Battalion (-)	Detachment, Marine Air Control Squadron 1
Reconnaissance Company, 5th Marines	Detachment, Marine Wing Support Squadron 1
Company C, 1st Tank Battalion (-)	Detachment, Marine Aviation Logistics Squadron 16
(Reinforced)	
15th Marine Expeditionary Unit	30th Naval Construction Regiment
2nd Battalion, 9th Marines (Reinforced)	Headquarters, 30th Naval Construction Regiment
Marine Medium Helicopter Squadron 164 (Composite)	Naval Mobile Construction Battalion 1
Marine Expeditionary Unit Service	Naval Mobile Construction Battalion 40
Support Group 15	9th Communications Battalion
24th Marine Expeditionary Unit	1st Radio Battalion
1st Battalion, 2nd Marines (Reinforced)	1st Naval Gunfire Liaison Company (-)
Marine Medium Helicopter Squadron 263 (Composite)	Integration Instruction Team
Marine Expeditionary Unit Service	National Intelligence Support Team
Support Group 24	
1st Surveillance, Reconnaissance and	
Intelligence Group	
Headquarters Company (-)	
1st Intelligence	
Company (-)	
1st Force Service Support Group	Naval Forces
Headquarters, 1st Service Support Group (Forward)	Somalia
Headquarters and Service Battalion (-)	Commanding Officers: Rear Admiral William J. Hancock, USN, December 19-28, 1992
7th Engineer Battalion (-)	Rear Admiral (Lower Half) James B. Perkins III, USN, December 28, 1992 to January 15, 1993
7th Motor Transport Battalion (-)	Captain J. W. Peterson, USN, January 15, 1993 to February 1, 1993
1st Landing Support Battalion (-)	Captain Terry R. Sheffield, USN, February 1, 1993 to March 5, 1993
1st Supply Battalion (-)	Captain Nathan H. Beason, USN, March 5-23, 1993
1st Maintenance Battalion (-)	Commodore Pyle, USN, from March 23, 1993
1st Medical Battalion (-)	
1st Dental Battalion (-)	
Marine Aircraft Group 16	Ranger Battle Group
Headquarters, Marine Aircraft Group 16	Cruiser Destroyer Group 1
Marine Light Attack Helicopter Squadron 369	Destroyer Squadron 7
Marine Heavy Helicopter Squadron 363	USS <i>Ranger</i>
Marine Aerial Transport Refueler Squadron 352	Carrier Air Wing 2
Detachment, Marine Heavy Helicopter Squadron 466	Fighter Squadron I
Marine Air Traffic Control Squadron 38 (-)	Fighter Squadron 2
Detachment, Headquarters and	Attack Squadron 145
Headquarters Service Squadron	Attack Squadron 155
Detachment, Marine Wing	Air Anti-Submarine Squadron 38
Communications Squadron 38	Tactical Electronic Warfare Squadron 31
	Helicopter Anti-Submarine Squadron 14

Carrier Airborne Early Warning Squadron 116
 Detachment 2, Helicopter Anti-Submarine Squadron Light 47
 Detachment 10, Helicopter Combat Support Squadron 11
USS Wabash
USS Valley Forge
Kitty Hawk Battle Group
 Cruiser Destroyer Group 5
 Destroyer Squadron 17
USS Kitty Hawk
 Carrier Air Wing 15
 Fighter Squadron 111
 Fighter Squadron 51
 Carrier Airborne Early Warning Squadron 114
 Helicopter Anti-Submarine Squadron 4
 Air Anti-Submarine Squadron 37
 Fighter/Attack Squadron 27
 Fighter/Attack Squadron 97
 Tactical Electronic Warfare Squadron 134
 Attack Squadron 52
 Marine Detachment
 Detachment, Explosive Ordnance Unit 3
USS Leahy
USS W.H. Standley
USS Sacramento
USS Tripoli
USS Juneau
USS Rushmore

Maritime Prepositioning Ship Squadron 2
Combined Task Force 156 (*Tripoli* ARG)
 USS Tripoli
 USS Juneau
 USS Rushmore
 USS Niagara Falls
Task Force 156 (*Wasp* ARG)
 USS Wasp
 USS El Paso
 USS Louisville
 USS Nashville
 USS Barnstable County
Naval Beach Group 1
 Assault Craft Unit I
 Beachmaster Unit 1
 Amphibious Construction Battalion 1
 Cargo Handling Group 1
 Military Sealift Command Office, Mogadishu
 Patrol Squadron Special Project Unit

Zimbabwe
 Commanding Officer: Major Vitalis Chigume,
 Zimbabwe Army

S Company, 42 Infantry Battalion (Reinforced)
 81mm Mortar/ Antitank Platoon
 Medical Platoon

**Appendix L: Seven Point Agreement Signed by
Mohamed Farah Aidid and Ali Mahdi Mohamed
(December 11, 1992)**

1. Immediate and total cessation of hostilities and restoration of unity of the [United Somali Congress].
2. Immediate and total cessation of all negative propaganda.
3. To break the artificial lines in the capital city of Mogadishu.
4. All the forces and their technicals should report to their respective designated locations outside the city within the next 48 hours, and be controlled by the joint committee.
5. The already established reconciliation committee of the [United Somali Congress] should convene their meetings within the next 24 hours.
6. We call upon all Somalis throughout the country to seriously engage on cessation of all hostilities and join with us for peace and unity of Somalia.
7. We express our deep appreciation to the international community for its efforts to assist Somalia and appeal to it to extend and expand its assistance including not only humanitarian relief aid but also reconstruction and rehabilitation as well as a national reconciliation conference.

Appendix M: General Agreement and Supplement Signed in Addis Ababa (January 8 and 15, 1993)

General Agreement Signed in Addis Ababa on January 8, 1993

We, the undersigned Somali political leaders, meeting at the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, from 4 January 1993 at the Informal Preparatory Meeting on National Reconciliation in Somalia, would like to thank the Secretary-General of the United Nations, H.E. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, who has facilitated this meeting in collaboration with the Organization of African Unity, the League of Arab States, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the Standing Committee of the Horn of Africa.

We also thank the Government and people of Ethiopia, and H.E. Meles Zenawi, President of the Transitional Government of Ethiopia, for hosting the Meeting and for his personal engagement in assisting our efforts to reach the following agreement.

We, the Somali participants, further express our deep appreciation for the concern of the international community for the humanitarian crisis in our country and recognize their wish for us to reach a peaceful solution to our country's severe problems.

After discussing our problems and considering all options, we have agreed on the following points:

1. The convening of a National Reconciliation Conference in Addis Ababa on 15 March 1993;
2. The declaration of an immediate and binding cease-fire in all parts of the country under the control of the concerned warring factions, subject to paragraph (a) below;
3. The immediate cessation of all hostile propa-

ganda against each other and the creation of an atmosphere conducive to reconciliation and peace;

4. The United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM), in consultation with the relevant regional and subregional organizations, will be responsible for the logistical preparations of the National Reconciliation Conference;
5. The establishment of further mechanisms for the continuation of free dialogue amongst all political factions and leaders in Somalia in preparation for the National Reconciliation Conference;
6. To continue and enhance our full and unrestrained cooperation with all international organizations working inside and outside Somalia to distribute humanitarian relief to our people;
7. To commit ourselves, without reservation, to facilitating the free movement of Somali people throughout the entire country as a measure of confidence-building before the National Reconciliation Conference.

This agreement shall be valid upon completion and adoption by consensus on the following three points, and a separate communique will be issued before leaving Addis Ababa:

- a. The establishment of the modalities for implementing the cease-fire amongst all warring parties and the creation of a mechanism for disarmament;
- b. The agenda of the National Reconciliation Conference;
- c. The criteria for participation in the National Reconciliation Conference.

This agreement, signed in Addis Ababa on 8 January 1993, shall be considered binding on all the undersigned parties henceforth and all signatories shall be obliged to secure the support and implementation of this agreement amongst their movements and followers.

1. Somali Africans Muki Organization (SAMO)
Mr. Mohamed Ramadan Arbow, Chairman
2. Somali Democratic Alliance (SDA)
Mr. Mohamed Farah Abdullahi, Chairman
3. Somali Democratic Movement (SDM)
Abdi Muse Mayo; Chairman
Col. Mohamed Nur Aliyou, Chairman (SNA)
4. Somali National Democratic Union (SNDU)
Mr. Ali Ismael Abdi, Chairman
5. Somali National Front (SNF)
General Omar Hagi Mohamed Hersi,
Chairman
6. Somali National Union (SNU)
Dr. Mohamed Ragis Mohamed, Chairman
7. Somali Patriotic Movement (SPM)
General Aden Abdillahi Noor, Chairman
8. Somali Patriotic Movement (SPM) (SNA)
Col. Ahmed Omar Jess, Chairman
9. Somali Salvation Democratic Front (SSDF)
General Mohamed Abshir Musse, Chairman

10. Southern Somali National Movement (SSNM) (SNA)
Col. Abdi Warsame Isaaq, Chairman.
11. United Somali Congress (USC) (SNA)
General Mohamed Farah Aidid, Chairman
12. United Somali Congress (USC)
Mr. Mohamed Qanyare Afrah, Chairman
13. United Somali Front (USF)
Mr. Abdurahman Dualeh Ali, Chairman
14. United Somali Party (USP)
Mohamed Abdi Hashi, Chairman

January 8, 1993
Addis Ababa, ETHIOPIA
Africa Hall

**Agreement on Implementing the Cease-fire and
on Modalities of Disarmament Signed in Addis
Ababa on January 15, 1993**

**(Supplement to the General Agreement signed in
Addis Ababa on January 8, 1993)**

We, the undersigned Somali political leaders, meeting in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, on 15 January 1993 at the Informal Preparatory Meeting on National Reconciliation in Somalia;

Having agreed on the need for a viable and verifiable

cease-fire to promote the peace process in Somalia;

Recognizing that such cease-fire is intricately linked to questions of disarmament;

Further recognizing that disarmament cannot be accomplished in a single event but through a sustained process;

Hereby agree on the following:

I. Disarmament

- 1.1 All heavy weaponry under the control of political movements shall be handed over to a cease-fire monitoring group for safe-keeping until such time as a legitimate Somali Government can take them over. This process shall commence immediately and be completed in March 1993.
- 1.2 The militias of all political movements shall be encamped in appropriate areas outside major towns where the encampment will not pose difficulties for peace. The encamped militias shall be disarmed following a process which will commence as soon as possible. This action shall be carried out simultaneously throughout Somalia. The international community will be requested to provide the encamped militias with upkeep.
- 1.3 The future status of the encamped militia shall be decided at the time of the final political settlement in Somalia. Mean-

while, the international community will be requested to assist in training them for civilian skills in preparation for possible demobilization. All other armed elements, including bandits, shall be disarmed immediately and assisted through rehabilitation and integration into civil society.

1.4 All other armed elements, including bandits, shall be disarmed immediately and assisted through rehabilitation and integration into civil society,

II. Cease-fire monitoring group

2.1 A cease-fire monitoring group comprising UNITAF/United Nations troops shall be established immediately. There shall also be a committee composed of representatives of the warring factions to interlocute with the monitoring group and observe the implementation of the agreement by UNITAF/United Nations troops.

III. All sides agree in principle that properties unlawfully taken during the fighting shall be returned to the lawful owners. This shall be implemented as and when the situation allows.

IV. All POWs shall be freed and handed over to the International Committee of the Red Cross and/or UNITAF. This process shall commence immediately and be completed by 1 March 1993.

The present agreement shall enter into effect on 15 January 1993.

Appendix N: Addis Ababa Agreement of the First Session of the Conference on National Reconciliation in Somalia (March 27, 1993)

After long and costly years of civil war that ravaged our country, plunged it into famine, and caused acute suffering and loss of life among our people, there is the light of hope at last: progress has been made towards the restoration of peace, security and reconciliation in Somalia.

We, the Somali political leaders, recognize how vital it is that this process continue. It has our full commitment.

By our attendance at this historic Conference, we have resolved to put an end to armed conflict and to reconcile our differences through peaceful means. We pledge to consolidate and carry forward advances in peace, security and dialogue made since the beginning of this year. National reconciliation is now the most fervent wish of the Somali people.

We commit ourselves to continuing the peace process under the auspices of the United Nations and in co-operation with the Regional Organizations and the Standing Committee of the Horn as well as with our neighbors in the Horn of Africa.

After an era of pain, destruction and bloodshed that turned Somalis against Somalis, we have confronted our responsibility. We now pledge to work toward the rebirth of Somalia, to restore its dignity as a country and rightful place in the community of nations. At the close of the Holy Month of Ramadan, we believe this

is the most precious gift we can give to our people.

The serenity and shade of a tree, which according to our Somali tradition is a place of reverence and rapprochement, has been replaced by the conference hall. Yet the promises made here are no less sacred or binding.

Therefore, we, the undersigned Somali political leaders, meeting at Africa Hall in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia between 15 and 27 March 1993, hereby reaffirm our commitment to the agreements signed during the Informal Preparatory Meeting on National Reconciliation in January 1993.

In concord to end hostilities, and to build on the foundation of peace for reconstruction and rehabilitation in Somalia, we agree to proceed within the framework of the following provisions and decisions:

I. Disarmament and Security

1. Affirm that uprooting of banditry and crime is necessary for peace, stability, security, reconciliation, reconstruction and development in Somalia;
2. Further affirm that disarmament must and shall be comprehensive, impartial and transparent;
3. Commit ourselves to complete, and simultaneous disarmament throughout the entire country in accordance with the disarmament concept and timeframe set by the Cease-fire Agreement of January 1993; and request that UNITAF/UNOSOM assist these

efforts so as to achieve a substantial completion of the disarmament within 90 days;

4. Further reiterate our commitment to the strict, effective and expeditious implementation of the Cease-fire/Disarmament Agreement signed on 8 and 15 January 1993;
5. Reaffirm our commitment to comply with the requirements of the Cease-fire Agreement signed in January of 1993, including the total and complete handover of weapons to UNITAF/UNOSOM;
6. Urge UNITAF/UNOSOM to apply strong and effective sanctions against those responsible for any violation of the Cease-fire Agreement of January 1993;
7. Stress the need for the air, sea and land borders of Somalia to be closely guarded by UNITAF/UNOSOM in order to prevent any flow of arms into the country and to prevent violation of the territorial waters of Somalia;
8. Further stress the need for maximum cooperation by neighboring countries to assure that their common borders with Somalia are not used for the movement of weapons in Somalia, in keeping with the United Nations arms embargo against Somalia;
9. Agree on the need to establish an impartial National and Regional Somali Police Force in all regions of the country on an urgent basis through the reinstatement of the former Somali Police Force and recruitment and training of young So-

malis from all regions, and request the assistance of the international community in this regard.

II. Rehabilitation and Reconstruction

1. Affirm the need to accelerate the supply and operation of relief, reconstruction and rehabilitation programs in Somalia;
2. Welcome the conclusion of the Third Coordination Meeting on Humanitarian Assistance to Somalia;
3. Express our appreciation to donor countries for their continued humanitarian assistance to Somalia and, in particular, for the generous pledge, made at the Third Coordination Meeting, to mobilize \$142 million for relief and rehabilitation efforts in Somalia;
4. Call upon UNOSOM, aid agencies and donor countries to immediately assist in the rehabilitation of essential public and social services, and of necessary infrastructure, on a priority basis by the end of June 1993;
5. Assure the international community of the full desire of Somali leaders to reestablish, with the assistance of UNOSOM, a secure environment for relief, reconstruction and rehabilitation operations and the protection of relief and rehabilitation workers and supplies;
6. Condemn the acts of violence committed against relief workers and all forms of extortion regarding humanitarian operations;

7. Urge the organizations within the UN system and NGOs to effectively utilize Somali human resources in the rehabilitation and reconstruction process in Somalia.

III. Restoration of Property and Settlement of Disputes

1. Affirm that all disputes must henceforth be settled by dialogue, negotiations and other peaceful and legal means;
2. Further affirm that all private or public properties that were illegally confiscated, robbed, stolen, seized, embezzled or taken by other fraudulent means must be returned to their rightful owners;
3. Decide to deal with this matter within the framework specified in the report of the committee on the peaceful settlement of disputes.

IV. Transitional Mechanisms

The Somali people believe that there is concurrence among the people of Somalia that Somalia must retain its rightful place in the community of nations and that they must express their political views and make the decisions that affect them. This is an essential component of the search for peace.

To achieve this, political and administrative structures in Somalia need to be rebuilt to provide the people as a whole with an opportunity to participate in shaping the future of the country.

In this context, the establishment of transitional mechanisms which prepare the country for a stable and democratic future is absolutely essential. During

the transitional period, which will last for a period of two years effective from the date of signature to this agreement, the emphasis will be upon the provision of essential services, complete disarmament, restoration of peace and domestic tranquility and on the attainment of the reconciliation of the Somali people. Emphasis will also be put on the rehabilitation and reconstruction of basic infrastructure and on the building of democratic institutions. All of this will prepare the country to enter a constitutional phase in which the institutions of democratic governance, rule of law, decentralization of power, protection of human rights and individual liberties, and the safeguarding of the integrity of the Somali Republic are all in place.

Therefore, we have agreed to a broad outline of a framework for a transitional system of governance to allow for the provision of essential services, the creation of a basis for long-term planning, and for the resumption of greater administrative responsibility by Somalis. In general terms, this system will be composed of four basic administrative components that will be mandated to function during the transitional period.

Taking into account the reality of the situation in Somalia today and the need for stability, we hereby agree to the establishment of the following four basic transitional organs of authority:

1. The Transitional National Council (TNC)

The TNC will:

- a. be the repository of Somali sovereignty;
- b. be the prime political authority having legislative functions during the period in question;

- c. interact, as appropriate, with the international community, including UNOSOM;
- d. appoint various committees, including the Transitional Charter Drafting Committee, as required;
- e. appoint Officers for its various functions;
- f. appoint the heads of administrative departments;
- g. oversee the performance of the departments created; and
- h. establish an independent Judiciary.

The TNC shall be composed of:

- a. Three representatives from each of the 18 regions currently recognized, including one woman from each region;
- b. Five additional seats for Mogadishu;
- c. One nominee from each of the political factions currently participating in the First session of the National Reconciliation Conference;

2. The Central Administrative Departments (CADs)

The TNC will appoint the heads of the Central Administrative Departments, whose prime function will be to re-establish and operate the departments of civil administration, social affairs, economic affairs and humanitarian affairs, paving the way for the re-establishment and operation of a formal government. The CADs shall comprise skilled professionals having the ability to reinstate, gradually, the administrative functions of national public administration. The performance of these departments will be overseen by the TNC.

3. Regional Council (RCs)

Regional Councils shall be established in all the existing 18 regions of Somalia. The present 18 regions shall be maintained during the transitional period. The Regional Councils shall be entrusted primarily with the task of implementing humanitarian, social and economic programs in coordination with the TNC and will also assist in the conducting of the internationally-supervised census. The Regional Councils will liaise with UNOSOM II, UN specialized agencies, NCOs and other relevant organizations directly and through the Central Administrative Departments and Transitional National Council. The Regional Councils shall also be responsible for law and order at the regional level. In this regard, the law enforcement institution will be a regional police force and a regional judiciary. The District Councils (see below) in each region shall send representatives who will constitute the Regional Councils.

4. District Councils

District Councils shall be established in the present districts in every region. District council members shall be appointed through election or through consensus-based selection in accordance with Somali traditions. The District Councils shall be responsible for managing the affairs of the district including public safety, health, education and reconstruction.

V. Conclusion

The Conference agreed on the appointment, by the TNC, of a Transitional Charter Drafting Com-

mittee referred to in section IV 1 (d) above. In drafting the Transitional Charter, the Committee shall be guided by the basic principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and by the Somali traditional ethics.

The Conference agreed that the TNC shall appoint a "Peace Delegation" composed of political movements and other social elements to travel to all parts of the country for the purpose of advancing the peace and reconciliation process as well as to explain the agreements reached in Addis Ababa.

We further agree that the TNC shall appoint a National Committee to bring about reconciliation and seek solutions to outstanding political problems with the SNM.

The Conference also calls upon the international community and in particular on the neighboring states to facilitate the noble effort at reconciliation by providing moral and material support.

In conclusion, we the undersigned, in agreeing to the above, resolve that never again will Somalia suffer the tragedy of the recent past. Emerging from the darkness of catastrophe and war, we Somalis herald the beginning of a new era of peace, of healing and rebuilding, in which cooperation and trust will overcome hatred and suspicion. It is a message we must pass on to our children and our grandchildren so that the proud Somali family, as we knew it, can once again become whole.

We, the undersigned, hereby pledge to abandon the logic of force for the ethic of dialogue. We will pursue the process of national reconciliation with vigor and sincerity, in accor-

dance with this declaration and with the cooperation of the people of Somalia as a whole.

Recognizing the tragic and painful recent history of problems in our country, we pledge to achieve comprehensive national reconciliation through peaceful means. We also pledge to adopt, in all parts of Somalia, transitional measures that will contribute to harmony and healing of wounds among all the people of Somalia.

We invite the Secretary-General of the United Nations and his Special Representative in Somalia, in accordance with the mandate entrusted to them by the UN Security Council, to extend all necessary assistance to the people of Somalia for the implementation of this agreement.

SIGNATORIES

1. SAMO	Mohamed R. Arbow
2. SDA	Mohamed F. Abdullahi
3. SDM	Abdi Musse Mayow
4. SDM (SNA)	Mohamed Nur Alia
5. SNDU	Ali Ismail Abdi
6. SNF	Gen. Omar Haji Mohamed
7. SNU	Mohamed Rajis Mohamed
8. SPM	Gen. Aden Abdullahi Nur
9. SPM (SNA)	Ahmed Hashi Mahmud
10. SSDF	Gen. Mohammed Abshir Mussa
11. SSNM	Abdi Warsame Isaq
12. USC (SNA)	Gen. Mohammed Farah H. Aidid
13. USC	Mohammed Qanyare Afrah
14. USF	Abdurahman Dualeh Ali
15. USP	Mohamed Abdi Hashi

Before proceeding to adopt the Agreement, I should also like to confirm to the participants that at the meeting of all political leaders yesterday, prior to the signing of the document they unanimously agreed that one of the five additional seats for Mogadishu would be reserved for Mr. Ali Mahdi. This understanding remains binding.

Appendix O: United Nations Security Council Resolution 814 (March 26, 1993)

RESOLUTION 814 (1993)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 3188th meeting, on 26 March 1993

The Security Council,

Reaffirming its resolutions 733 (1992) of 23 January 1992, 746 (1992) of 17 March 1992, 751 (1992) of 24 April 1992, 767 (1992) of 27 July 1992, 775 (1992) of 28 August 1992 and 794 (1992) of 3 December 1992,

Bearing in mind General Assembly resolution 47/167 of 18 December 1992,

Commending the efforts of Member States acting pursuant to resolution 794 (1992) to establish a secure environment for humanitarian relief operations in Somalia,

Acknowledging the need for a prompt, smooth and phased transition from the Unified Task Force (UNITAF) to the expanded United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II),

Regretting the continuing incidents of violence in Somalia and the threat they pose to the reconciliation process,

Deploring the acts of violence against persons engaging in humanitarian efforts on behalf of the United Nations, States, and non-governmental organizations,

Noting with deep regret and concern the continuing reports of widespread violations of interna-

tional humanitarian law and the general absence of the rule of law in Somalia,

Recognizing that the people of Somalia bear the ultimate responsibility for national reconciliation and reconstruction of their own country,

Acknowledging the fundamental importance of a comprehensive and effective programme for disarming Somali parties, including movements and factions,

Noting the need for continued humanitarian relief assistance and for the rehabilitation of Somalia's political institutions and economy,

Concerned that the crippling famine and drought in Somalia, compounded by the civil strife, have caused massive destruction to the means of production and the natural and human resources of that country,

Expressing its appreciation to the Organization of African Unity, the League of Arab States, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the Non-Aligned Movement for their cooperation with, and support of, the efforts of the United Nations in Somalia,

Further expressing its appreciation to all Member States which have made contributions to the Fund established pursuant to paragraph 11 of resolution 794 (1992) and to all those who have provided humanitarian assistance to Somalia,

Commending the efforts, in difficult circumstances, of the initial United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM) established pursuant to resolution 751 (1992).

Expressing its appreciation for the invaluable assistance the neighbouring countries have been providing to the international community in its efforts to restore peace and security in Somalia and to host large numbers of refugees displaced by the conflict and taking note of the difficulties caused to them due to the presence of refugees in their territories,

Convinced that the restoration of law and order throughout Somalia would contribute to humanitarian relief operations, reconciliation and political settlement, as well as to the rehabilitation of Somalia's political institutions and economy,

Convinced also of the need for broad-based consultations and deliberations to achieve reconciliation, agreement on the setting up of transitional government institutions and consensus on basic principles and steps leading to the establishment of representative democratic institutions,

Recognizing that the re-establishment of local and regional administrative institutions is essential to the restoration of domestic tranquility,

Encouraging the Secretary-General and his Special Representative to continue and intensify their work at the national, regional and local levels, including and encouraging broad participation by all sectors of Somali society, to promote the process of political settlement and national reconciliation and to assist the people of Somalia in rehabilitating their political institutions and economy,

Expressing its readiness to assist the people of Somalia, as appropriate, on a local, regional or national level, to participate in free and fair elections, with a view towards achieving and implementing a political settlement,

Welcoming the progress made at the United Nations-sponsored Informal Preparatory Meeting on Somali Political Reconciliation in Addis Ababa from 4 to 15 January 1993, in particular the conclusion at that meeting of three agreements by the Somali parties, including movements and factions, and welcoming also any progress made at the Conference on National Reconciliation which began in Addis Ababa on 15 March 1993,

Emphasizing the need for the Somali people, including movements and factions, to show the political will to achieve security, reconciliation and peace,

Noting the reports of States concerned of 17 December 1992 (S/24976) and 19 January 1993 (S/25126) and of the Secretary-General of 19 December 1992 (S/24992) and 26 January 1993 (S/25168) on the implementation of resolution 794 (1992),

Having examined the report of the Secretary-General of 3 March 1993 (S/25354 and Add. 1 and 2),

Welcoming the intention of the Secretary-General to seek maximum economy and efficiency and to keep the size of the United Nations presence, both military and civilian, to the minimum necessary to fulfil its mandate,

Determining that the situation in Somalia continues to threaten peace and security in the region,

1. Approves the report of the Secretary-General of 3 March 1993;
2. Expresses its appreciation to the Secretary-General for convening the Conference on National Reconciliation for Somalia in accordance with the agreements reached during

the Informal Preparatory Meeting on Somali Political Reconciliation in Addis Ababa in January 1993 and for the progress achieved towards political reconciliation in Somalia, and also for his efforts to ensure that, as appropriate, all Somalis, including movements, factions, community leaders, women, professionals, intellectuals, elders and other representative groups are suitably represented at such conferences;

3. Welcomes the convening of the Third United Nations Coordination Meeting for Humanitarian Assistance for Somalia in Addis Ababa from 11 to 13 March 1993 and the willingness expressed by Governments through this process to contribute to relief and rehabilitation efforts in Somalia, where and when possible;
4. Requests the Secretary-General, through his Special Representative, and with assistance, as appropriate, from all relevant United Nations entities, offices and specialized agencies, to provide humanitarian and other assistance to the people of Somalia in rehabilitating their political institutions and economy and promoting political settlement and national reconciliation, in accordance with the recommendations contained in his report of 3 March 1993, including in particular:
 - a) To assist in the provision of relief and in the economic rehabilitation of Somalia, based on an assessment of clear, prioritized needs, and taking into account, as appropriate, the 1993 Relief and Rehabilitation Programme for Somalia prepared

by the United Nations Department of Humanitarian Affairs;

- b) To assist in the repatriation of refugees and displaced persons within Somalia;
- c) To assist the people of Somalia to promote and advance political reconciliation, through broad participation by all sectors of Somali society, and the re-establishment of national and regional institutions and civil administration in the entire country;
- d) To assist in the re-establishment of Somali police, as appropriate at the local, regional or national level, to assist in the restoration and maintenance of peace, stability and law and order, including in the investigation and facilitating the prosecution of serious violations of international humanitarian law;
- e) To assist the people of Somalia in the development of a coherent and integrated programme for the removal of mines throughout Somalia;
- f) To develop appropriate public information activities in support of the United Nations activities in Somalia;
- g) To create conditions under which Somali civil society may have a role, at every level, in the process of political reconciliation and in the formulation and realization of rehabilitation and reconstruction programmes;

B

Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations,

1. Decides to expand the size of the UNOSOM force and its mandate in accordance with the recommendations contained in paragraphs 56-88 of the report of the Secretary-General of 3 March 1993, and the provisions of this resolution;
2. Authorizes the mandate for the expanded UNOSOM (UNOSOM II) for an initial period through 31 October 1993, unless previously renewed by the Security Council;
3. Emphasizes the crucial importance of disarmament and the urgent need to build on the efforts of UNITAF in accordance with paragraphs 56-69 of the report of the Secretary-General of 3 March 1993;
4. Demands that all Somali parties, including movements and factions, comply fully with the commitments they have undertaken in the agreements they concluded at the Informal Preparatory Meeting on Somali Political Reconciliation in Addis Ababa, and in particular with their Agreement on Implementing the Cease-fire and on Modalities of Disarmament (S/25168, annex III);
5. Further demands that all Somali parties, including movements and factions, take all measures to ensure the safety of the personnel of the United Nations and its agencies as well as the staff of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC}, intergovernmental or-

ganizations and non-governmental organizations engaged in providing humanitarian and other assistance to the people of Somalia in rehabilitating their political institutions and economy and promoting political settlement and national reconciliation;

6. Requests the Secretary-General to support from within Somalia the implementation of the arms embargo established by resolution 733 (1992), utilizing as available and appropriate the UNOSOM II forces authorized by this resolution, and to report on this subject, with any recommendations regarding more effective measures if necessary, to the Security Council;
7. Calls upon all States, in particular neighbouring States, to cooperate in the implementation of the arms embargo established by resolution 733 (1992);
8. Requests the Secretary-General to provide security, as appropriate, to assist in the repatriation of refugees and the assisted resettlement of displaced persons, utilizing UNOSOM II forces, paying particular attention to those areas where major instability continues to threaten peace and security in the region;
9. Reiterates its demand that all Somali parties, including movements and factions, immediately cease and desist from all breaches of international humanitarian law and reaffirms that those responsible for such acts be held individually accountable;

10. Requests the Secretary-General, through his Special Representative, to direct the Force Commander of UNOSOM II to assume responsibility for the consolidation, expansion and maintenance of a secure environment throughout Somalia, taking account of the particular circumstances in each locality, on an expedited basis in accordance with the recommendations contained in his report of 3 March 1993, and in this regard to organize a prompt, smooth and phased transition from UNITAF to UNOSOM II;
11. Requests the Secretary-General to maintain the fund established pursuant to resolution 794 (1992) for the additional purpose of receiving contributions for maintenance of UNOSOM II forces following the departure of UNITAF forces and for the establishment of Somali police, and calls on Member States to make contributions to this fund, in addition to their assessed contributions;
12. Expresses appreciation to the United Nations agencies, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations and the ICRC for their contributions and assistance and requests the Secretary-General to ask them to continue to extend financial, material and technical support to the Somali people in all regions of the country;
13. Requests the Secretary-General to seek, as appropriate, pledges and contributions from States and others to assist in financing the rehabilitation of the political institutions and economy of Somalia;

14. Requests the Secretary-General to keep the Security Council fully informed on action taken to implement the present resolution, in particular to submit as soon as possible a report to the Council containing recommendations for establishment of Somali police forces and thereafter to report no later than every ninety days on the progress achieved in accomplishing the objectives set out in the present resolution;
15. Decides to conduct a formal review of the progress towards accomplishing the purposes of the present resolution no later than 31 October 1993;
16. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.

Appendix P: United Nations Security Council Resolution 837 (June 6, 1993)

RESOLUTION 837 (1993)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 3229th meeting, on 6 June 1993

The Security Council,

Reaffirming its resolutions 733 (1992) of 23 January 1992, 746 (1992) of 17 March 1992, 751 (1992) of 24 April 1992, 767 (1992) of 27 July 1992, 775 (1992) of 28 August 1992, 794 (1992) of 3 December 1992 and 814 (1993) of 26 March 1993,

Bearing in mind General Assembly resolution 47/167 of 18 December 1992,

Gravely alarmed at the premeditated armed attacks launched by forces apparently belonging to the United Somali Congress (USC/SNA) against the personnel of the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II) on 5 June 1993,

Strongly condemning such actions, which directly undermine international efforts aimed at the restoration of peace and normalcy in Somalia,

Expressing outrage at the loss of life as a result of these criminal attacks,

Reaffirming its commitment to assist the people of Somalia in re-establishing conditions of normal life,

Stressing that the international community is involved in Somalia in order to help the people of Somalia who have suffered untold miseries due to

years of civil strife in that country,

Acknowledging the fundamental importance of completing the comprehensive and effective programme for disarming all Somali parties, including movements and factions,

Convinced that the restoration of law and order throughout Somalia would contribute to humanitarian relief operations, reconciliation and political settlement, as well as to the rehabilitation of Somalia's political institutions and economy,

Condemning strongly the use of radio broadcasts, in particular by the USC/SNA, to incite attacks against United Nations personnel,

Recalling the statement made by its President on 31 March 1993 (S/25493) concerning the safety of United Nations forces and personnel deployed in conditions of strife and committed to consider promptly measures appropriate to the particular circumstances to ensure that persons responsible for attacks and other acts of violence against United Nations forces and personnel are held to account for their actions,

Taking note of the information provided to the Council by the Secretary-General on 6 June 1993,

Determining that the situation in Somalia continues to threaten peace and security in the region,

Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations,

1. Strongly condemns the unprovoked armed attacks against the personnel of UNOSOM II on 5 June 1993, which appear to have been part of a calculated and premeditated series

of cease-fire violations to prevent by intimidation UNOSOM II from carrying out its mandate as provided for in resolution 814 (1993);

2. Expresses its condolences to the Government and people of Pakistan and the families of the UNOSOM II personnel who have lost their lives;
3. Re-emphasizes the crucial importance of the early implementation of the disarmament of all Somali parties, including movements and factions, in accordance with paragraphs 56-69 of the report of the Secretary-General of 3 March 1993 (S/25354), and of neutralizing radio broadcasting systems that contribute to the violence and attacks directed against UNOSOM II;
4. Demands once again that all Somali parties, including movements and factions, comply fully with the commitments they have undertaken in the agreements they concluded at the informal Preparatory Meeting on Somali Political Reconciliation in Addis Ababa, and in particular with their Agreement on Implementing the Cease-fire and on Modalities of Disarmament (S/25168, annex III);
5. Reaffirms that the Secretary-General is authorized under resolution 814 (1993) to take all necessary measures against all those responsible for the armed attacks referred to in paragraph 1 above, including against those responsible for publicly inciting such attacks, to establish the effective authority of UNOSOM II throughout Somalia, including to

secure the investigation of their actions and their arrest and detention for prosecution, trial and punishment;

6. Requests the Secretary-General urgently to inquire into the incident, with particular emphasis on the role of those factional leaders involved;
7. Encourages the rapid and accelerated deployment of all UNOSOM II contingents to meet the full requirements of 28,000 men, all ranks, as well as equipment, as indicated in the Secretary-General's report of 3 March 1993 (S/25354);
8. Urges Member States to contribute, on an emergency basis, military support and transportation, including armoured personnel carriers, tanks and attack helicopters, to provide UNOSOM II the capability appropriately to confront and deter armed attacks directed against it in the accomplishment of its mandate;
9. Further requests the Secretary-General to submit a report to the Council on the implementation of the present resolution, if possible within seven days from the date of its adoption;
10. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.

Appendix Q: Joint Meritorious Unit Award for UNITAF Somalia

Citation:

Unified Task Force Somalia, United States Central Command, distinguished itself by exceptionally meritorious service in Operation RESTORE HOPE from 5 December 1992 to 4 May 1993. During this period, the Unified Task Force organized and deployed the largest humanitarian assistance mission in history, a joint and combined task force of over 38,000 personnel. Rapidly establishing security in eight Humanitarian Relief Sectors in war-torn and famine-raged Somalia, they effectively neutralized warring factions that had paralyzed and devastated the country. Unified Task Force Somalia enabled the delivery of over 42,000 metric tons of relief supplies to the starving population, disarmed warring factions, fostered a cease fire, and restored police and judiciary systems. It accomplished a major infrastructure rebuilding effort, restoring roads, airfields, seaports and public utilities that had been destroyed by two years of civil war. Through the intervention and leadership of Unified Task Force Somalia, relief efforts of over 60 different air and relief organizations and the support of 23 nations were coordinated and focused to reverse a human tragedy of famine and disease that was claiming the lives of thousands each day. Under the stability provided by Unified Task Force Somalia, the process of reconciliation and rebuilding began. The successes of the members of Unified Task Force Somalia in the accomplishment of national security objectives, and their exemplary performance of duty have brought

great credit to themselves, their Services, the United States Central Command, and to the Department of Defense.

Given under my hand this 29th day of June 1993

Colin L. Powell
Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff

Endnotes

1. Nairaland Forum, Somali Proverbs, October 22, 2013, available from www.nairaland.com/1487904/somali-proverbs, accessed on October 28, 2015.

2. United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs webpage, "What are least developed countries?" available from http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/policy/cdp/ldc_info.shtml, accessed on January 22, 2016. A least developed country is a country that, according to the U.N., exhibits the lowest indicators of socioeconomic development, with the lowest Human Development Index ratings of all countries in the world. A country is classified as a least developed country if it meets three criteria:

- poverty (based on per capita gross national income),
- human resource weakness (based on indicators of nutrition, health, education and adult literacy), and
- economic vulnerability (based on instability of agricultural production, instability of exports of goods and services, economic importance of non-traditional activities, merchandise export concentration, handicap of economic smallness, and the percentage of population displaced by natural disasters).

3. Population data source is www.populstat.info/Africa/somaliac.htm, accessed on November 11, 2015.

4. There is no clear agreement on Somali clan and sub-clan structures. Most sources agree on five clan-families: Darod, Dir, Hawiya, Isaaq, and Rahanwein. Some sources list the Digil clan under the Rahanwein clan-family, while others list it as a sixth clan-family.

5. In Article 23 of the Treaty of Peace between Italy and the Allied and Associated Powers on February 10, 1947, Italy renounced all right and title to its territorial possessions in Africa, including Italian Somaliland; and agreed they would continue under their present administration until their final disposition.

6. Colonel Dennis P. Mroczkowski, *Restoring Hope: In Somalia with the Unified Task Force, 1992-1993*, Washington, DC: History Division, U.S. Marine Corps, 2005 (hereafter Mroczkowski), p. 5.

7. Mroczkowski, p. 7.
8. Internationally recognized as an autonomous region of Somalia, Somaliland remained relatively stable after its de facto secession from Somalia.
9. In some sources, General Aidid's last name is spelled "Aeed," but the author uses the spelling "Aidid" as shown in the U.N. documents at Appendices J and K.
10. In June 1992, General Aidid formed the Somali National Alliance (SNA), which included Aidid's USC faction and the SPM faction led by Colonel Ahmed Omar Jess.
11. Former dictator Siad Barre fled to Nairobi, Kenya, but Somali opposition groups with a presence there protested his arrival and support of him by the Kenyan government. On May 17, 1992, he moved under pressure to Lagos, Nigeria, where he was granted political asylum. Barre died from a heart attack in Lagos on January 2, 1995.
12. Mroczkowski, p. 8.
13. United Nations webpage, "UNITED NATIONS OPERATION IN SOMALIA I, UNOSOM I (April 1992 - March 1993): Historical Background", available from www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/past/unosomi.htm, accessed on November 23, 2015 (hereafter Historical Background), p. 1.
14. Historical Background, p. 2.
15. Historical Background, p. 2.
16. Historical Background, p. 2.
17. Historical Background, pp. 2-3.
18. Historical Background, p. 3.
19. Historical Background, p. 4.
20. Nairobi Message 243067 to Secretary of State, July 30, 1992; cited by Walter S. Poole in *The Effort to Save Somalia, August 1992-March 1994*, Washington, DC: Joint History Office, Office of the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, 2005 (hereafter Poole), p. 8.
21. Poole, p. 11.
22. The Bush Administration's National Security Council system comprised eight regional or functional Policy Coordinating

Committees (PCCs); the Deputies Committee (DC) chaired by the Deputy National Security Advisor, and the Principals Committee (PC) chaired by the National Security Advisor. See John Prados, *Keepers of the Keys, A History of the National Security Council from Truman to Bush* (New York: William Morrell and Company, 1991), p. 548.

23. For example, Somalia had a long history of inter-clan mediation by elders, and extensive intermarriage among clans, to bring together rival clans. As Head of State, Siad Barre outlawed references to clan identity, stressed national unity, emphasized socialist ideology, and manipulated the clan system to oppress entire clans and encourage conflict among the clan-families. See John L. Hirsch and Ambassador Robert B. Oakley, *Somalia and Operation Restore Hope, Reflections on Peacemaking and Peacekeeping*, Washington, DC: U.S Institute of Peace Press, 1995, pp.4 and 8-9.

24. Mroczkowski, pp. 8-9.

25. Mroczkowski, p. 22.

26. USCINCENT Commander's Estimate of the Situation, dated November 22, 1992, cited by Mroczkowski, p. 22.

27. Poole, p. 15.

28. USUN message 5143 to Secretary of State, November 6, 1992; cited by Poole, p. 15. Vietnam invaded Cambodia in 1979 and overthrew the Khmer Rouge regime, but the Khmer Rouge continued a resistance movement against the Vietnamese, and later an insurgency against the new Cambodian government, until 1998.

29. Poole, p. 16,

30. Poole, p. 16.

31. Poole, p. 18.

32. Poole, p. 19.

33. Historical Background, p. 6.

34. Historical Background, p. 6.

35. President George H.W. Bush, "Address on Somalia," December 4, 1991, available from <http://millercenter.org/president/bush/speeches/speech-3984>, accessed on January 22, 2016.

36. NWC White Paper, p. 3.

37. Poole, p. 23.
38. Poole, p. 22.
39. Poole, p. 23.
40. Poole, p. 23. It is unclear why Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali switched from the term "disarmament" to the more ambiguous term "neutralization." Perhaps he was seeking a political compromise with President Bush, who considered disarmament both infeasible and unnecessary to the success of the limited mission assigned to JTF Somalia. However, President Bush authorized the limited neutralization of the factions' heavy weapons to prevent their use to interfere with relief operations. The subsequent UNITAF weapons control policy was to neutralize the factions' heavy weapons by restricting them to designated cantonment areas under faction control.
41. General Joseph P. Hoar (USMC), "A CinC's Perspective," *Joint Forces Quarterly* (Autumn 1993), p. 56.
42. General Mikolajcik commanded the 437th Airlift Wing, which was based at Charleston AFB, South Carolina
43. A maritime prepositioning squadron carries enough supplies to support a force of 16,000 personnel for 30 days, but JTF Somalia would reach 23,000 personnel by late December 1992.
44. Psychological operations were subsequently renamed military information support operations (MISO).
45. Mroczkowski, p. 21.
46. Mroczkowski, p. 21.
47. JTF Somalia Operation Order, December 5, 1992, cited by Mroczkowski, p. 27.
48. Technical vehicles ("technical") were improvised weapon platforms, usually comprised of a pick-up truck or similar vehicle with a heavy machinegun or some other crew-served weapon mounted in the bed.
49. Mroczkowski, p. 34.
50. Lead elements of the French 9th Marine Infantry Division arrived from Djibouti on December 9. On December 13, the Belgian 1st Parachute Battalion and lead elements of the Italian Folgore Airborne Brigade arrived. A reinforced Kuwaiti motorized rifle company arrived on December 14. The lead elements of

the reinforced Saudi 5th Airborne Battalion and reinforced Turkish 1st Company, 1st Battalion, 28th Mechanized Brigade, arrived on December 19. The advance party of the 1st Battalion Group, The Royal Australian Regiment, arrived on December 22.

51. In addition to the U.S. forces, UNITAF included military units from Australia, Belgium, Botswana, Canada, Egypt, France, Germany, Greece, India, Italy, Kuwait, Morocco, New Zealand, Nigeria, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Sweden, Tunisia, Turkey, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom, and Zimbabwe.

52. Tiyegloo had always been an administrative part of the Oddur District, but the arbitrary grid-like method the JTF headquarters used to establish the eight sectors excluded it from the Oddur HRS.

53. The name of this city is also spelled Marca, Marka, or Merca.

54. Mroczkowski, p. 51.

55. Carl von Clausewitz, edited and translated by Michael Howard and Peter Paret, *On War* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1984), p. 87.

56. U.S. Marine Corps, Fleet Marine Force Manual 1-1, *Campaigning*, Washington, DC: U.S. Marine Corps, 1990, p. 35.

57. Mroczkowski, p. 51.

58. Poole, p. 26.

59. Mroczkowski, p. 57.

60. Mroczkowski, p. 58.

61. Section 2420 of title 22, U.S. Code, specifically prohibits assistance to a foreign police force. However, section 2364 of title 22 authorizes the President to furnish foreign assistance without regard to any provision of the Foreign Assistance Act, the Arms Export Control Act, any law relating to receipts and credits accruing to the United States, and any act authorizing or appropriating funds for use under the Foreign Assistance Act, when the President:

(1) Determines it furthers any of the purposes of the Foreign Assistance Act;

(2) Determines it is important to U.S. security interests to furnish such assistance; and

(3) Notifies in writing the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate.

The President normally makes exceptions to Section 2420 by issuing a presidential directive granting authority to the Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs, Department of State, to assist foreign police. However, President Bush issued National Security Presidential Directive 36 in 2004, granting authority to the Commander, USCENTCOM, with the policy guidance of the Chief of Mission, to direct all U.S. Government efforts and coordinate international efforts in support of organizing, equipping, and training all Iraqi security forces, including Iraqi police. Similarly, President Obama issued a presidential directive in 2009 granting authority to Commander, USCENTCOM to support the training of Afghan police by the NATO Training Mission--Afghanistan. Congress has also granted specific legislative exceptions to the prohibition on providing U.S. assistance to foreign police, including authority to train foreign police involved in counter narcotics in Latin America and the Caribbean.

62. Section 2420 of title 22, U.S. Code, states, "On and after July 1, 1975, none of the funds made available to carry out this chapter, and none of the local currencies generated under this chapter, shall be used to provide training or advice, or provide any financial support, for police, prisons, or other law enforcement forces for any foreign government." The 1991 Appropriations Act prohibited a foreign military financing program or international military education and training programs for Somalia, among other countries.

63. Mroczkowski, p. 61.

64. Mroczkowski, pp. 58-61.

65. Mroczkowski, pp. 140-142.

66. Mroczkowski, p. 27.

67. Mroczkowski, p. 68.

68. Douglas Porch, "Bugeaud, Galliéni, Lyautey: The Development of French Colonial Warfare," in Peter Paret (editor), *Makers of Modern Strategy from Machiavelli to the Nuclear Age*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986, pp. 376-407.

69. Mroczkowski, p. 97.

70. Mroczkowski, p. 98.
71. Mroczkowski, p. 147.
72. Mroczkowski, pp. 27-29.
73. Poole, p. 28.
74. Poole, p. 30.
75. Poole, p. 34.
76. Poole, p. 34.
77. In April 1993, the new Secretary of Defense, Les Aspin, asked Congress to reprogram \$750 million from Service procurement and research and development accounts to Service personnel and operations and maintenance accounts. Congress approved this reprogramming in July 1993. The actual cost of Operation RESTORE HOPE was \$692.3 million. See Poole, pp. 32-33.
78. Poole, p. 35.
79. Poole, p. 35.
80. Poole, p. 35.
81. U.S. Army Center of Military History, *The United States Army in Somalia, 1992-1994*, <http://www.history.army.mil/brochures/somalia/somalia.htm>, accessed on October 26, 2015, p. 77.
82. USCENTCOM expected an afloat MEU to be the QRF supporting UNOSOM II, but the French warned General Hoar that they would withdraw if the United States did not keep a ground combat force in Somalia. USCENTCOM established a lightly armed 1,200-member Army QRF ashore with no armored vehicles, using assets from the 1st Brigade, 10th Mountain Division.
83. Poole, p. 38
84. Historical Background, p. 7.
85. Historical Background, p. 8.
86. Historical Background, p. 8.
87. Historical Background, p. 8.
88. Historical Background, p. 8.
89. A lead nation structure exists when all member nations place their forces under the operational control of one nation. The lead nation provides the command and staff framework with subordinate elements retaining strict national integrity. See Joint Publication 3-16, *Multinational Operations*, 16 July 2013, p. xi.

90. Interview with Colonel Dennis Mroczkowski,-(USMC), cited by Mroczkowski, p. 147.
91. Mroczkowski, p. 147.
92. The relevant histories do not indicate when UNOSOM II or U.S. Forces, Somalia, were formally established.
93. The Army established a four-month rotation policy for Army units and personnel assigned to UNITAF. Under UNOSOM II, Army units and personnel served tours of six months to one year.
94. U.S. Army Center of Military History, *The United States Army in Somalia, 1992-1994*, <http://www.history.army.mil/brochures/somalia/somalia.htm>, accessed on October 26, 2015, p. 77.
95. U.S. Army Center of Military History, *The United States Army in Somalia, 1992-1994*, <http://www.history.army.mil/brochures/somalia/somalia.htm>, accessed on October 26, 2015, p. 77.
96. U.S. Army Center of Military History, *The United States Army in Somalia, 1992-1994*, <http://www.history.army.mil/brochures/somalia/somalia.htm>, accessed on October 26, 2015, p. 77.
97. At its peak in November 1993, UNOSOM II was a multinational force of 29,732 personnel from 29 nations. The largest force contributors were India (5,000), Pakistan (4,500), the United States (4,200, including the USCENTCOM QRF of 1,100), and Italy (2,600). No useful task organization chart is available for inclusion in this case study.
98. U.S. Army Center of Military History, *The United States Army in Somalia, 1992-1994*, <http://www.history.army.mil/brochures/somalia/somalia.htm>, accessed on October 26, 2015, p. 62.
99. Mroczkowski, p. 155.
100. Poole, p. 57.
101. Poole, p. 58.
102. The last U.S. forces left Mogadishu on March 25, 1994. By then, the French, German, Belgian, Italian, Turkish, and Tunisian contingents of UNOSOM II had already left.
103. Poole, p. 59.
104. Poole, p. 67.

105. Joint Publication 3-0, *Joint Operations*, August 11, 2011, pp. A-1 to A-5; and Joint Publication 3-07, *Stability Operations*, September 29, 2011, pp. I-16 to I- 20.

106. Stability operations functions include security, humanitarian assistance, economic stabilization and infrastructure development, rule of law, and governance and participation. See Joint Publication 3-07, *Stability Operations*, 29 September 2011, p. vii.

107. NWC White Paper, p. 5.

108. Colonel George F. Oliver, "The Other Side of Peacekeeping: Peace Enforcement and Who Should Do It?" in *International Peacekeeping: The Yearbook of International Peace Operations, Volume 8*, Netherlands: Koninklyke, 2002, p. 101.

109. Mroczkowski, p. 51.

110. Poole, pp. 31-32.

U.S. ARMY WAR COLLEGE

Major General William E. Rapp
Commandant

**PEACEKEEPING & STABILITY OPERATIONS
INSTITUTE**

Director
Colonel Daniel A. Pinnell

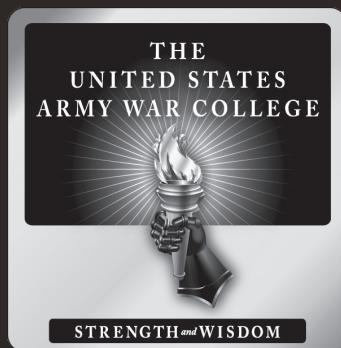
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